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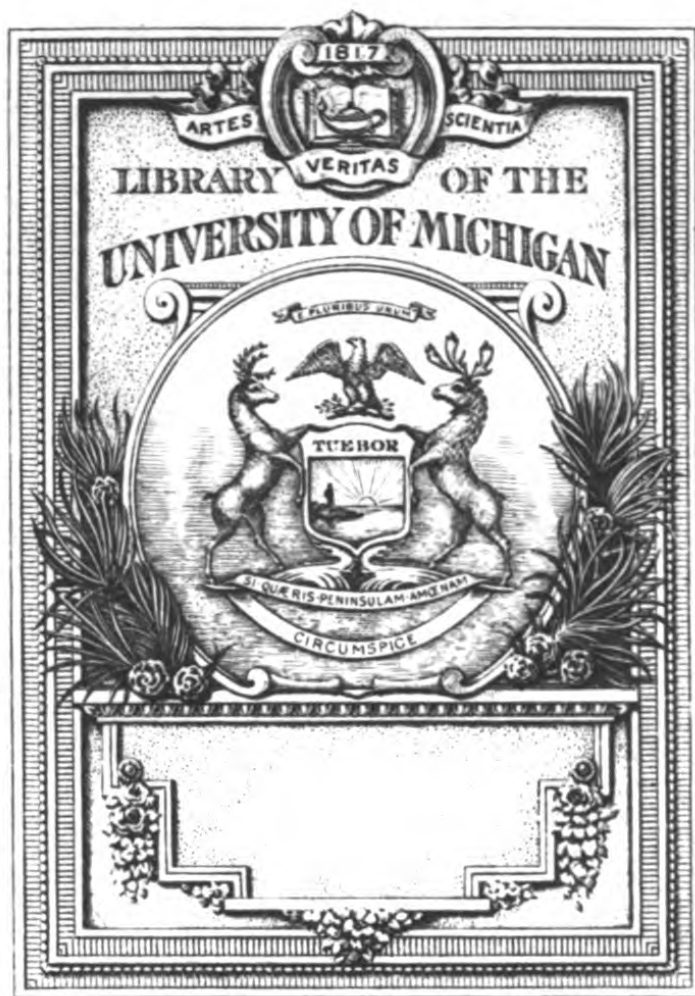
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# NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS



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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS  
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**A HOARD OF FOLLES FROM  
SELTZ (ALSACE)**

**BY NAPHTALI LEWIS**

**WITH A SUPPLEMENT ON  
THE CHEMICAL COMPOSITION OF THE  
FOLLIS**

**BY DAVID LEWIS**



**THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
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# A HOARD OF FOLLES FROM SELTZ (ALSACE)

BY NAPHTALI LEWIS

## WITH A SUPPLEMENT ON THE CHEMICAL COMPOSITION OF THE FOLLIS

BY DAVID LEWIS

The hoard which forms the subject of the present monograph was found in 1930 at Seltz, a village in the northeastern corner of Alsace, in the ruins of a house that had been destroyed by fire.<sup>1</sup> News of the find was immediately carried to Strasbourg. The next day, M. Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, then Associate Curator of the Musée Préhistorique et Gallo-Romain at Strasbourg, went to Seltz and was able to arrange for the purchase of the complete hoard, with the exception of a few coins which the finders retained as souvenirs.

The hoard was acquired by M. Schaeffer for the Cabinet Numismatique de la Ville de Strasbourg (of which he was then Curator), which received 2000 coins, and the Musée Préhistorique et Gallo-Romain, which received 1200. Of its share, the Musée kept for display only 198 coins and the jar in which the hoard was buried (see below), and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. Forrer, *L'Alsace romaine* (Paris, 1935), p. 187.



distributed the remainder among members of the Cercle Numismatique d'Alsace.

The privilege of publishing this hoard was most graciously offered me by M. Schaeffer when I visited Strasbourg in the summer of 1933. As I could inventory on the spot only a few hundred pieces before returning to Paris, M. Schaeffer himself inventoried the 198 coins of the Musée, and the following month brought with him to the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at St.-Germain-en-Laye, where he had been named to the Assistant Curatorship left vacant by the death of Salomon Reinach, the 2000 coins of the Cabinet Numismatique. With the coins now within such easy reach of Paris, I was able to complete the inventory in the course of the following year. During this time, also, M. Schaeffer secured from several of the members of the Cercle Numismatique d'Alsace inventories of the coins in their possession. (Since only the more common types found in the hoard were distributed, the pieces in private possession not here catalogued—about 1/5 the total number—are presumably merely additional specimens of types already well represented in the Inventory-List below.) The photographs for the Plates were likewise furnished me by M. Schaeffer.

I wish to express here my thanks to M. Schaeffer for his kindness and his invaluable assistance. Thanks are also due Mr. Harold Mattingly of the British Museum, who very kindly answered my questions in connection with the *inedita* furnished by the hoard.

THE COINS OF THE HOARD<sup>2</sup>

The coins were enclosed in a large earthenware jar which was buried in the soil in an upright position, its mouth presumably stoppered. This precaution did not, of course, indefinitely succeed in keeping out soil and moisture. At some time, moreover, the pressure to which the jar was subjected burst one of its sides, causing even greater exposure of the coins, so that when the hoard was found most of the coins were oxidized and many of them matted together. Few of the coins are badly corroded, however; most of them are merely covered with a thin patina of verdigris, and a considerable number are still "à fleur de coin."

The coins (*folles*) were originally rolled up in leathern containers, just as today coins of equal denomination are rolled up in slips of paper for convenience in handling. The ends of the containers were twisted to make them fit tightly. One such roll is preserved intact,<sup>3</sup> and traces of others from which the leathern containers have long since rotted away are to be found in whole or partial piles or "spilled piles" of coins matted together.<sup>3</sup> Though interesting in themselves, these rolls take on an added significance when we consider how the coins came to be called *folles*. The word *folle* originally signified "a leathern money-bag," and the name was later applied to these coins because,

<sup>2</sup> Coins are cited by their number in the inventory-list below.

<sup>3</sup> Photograph in Forrer, *op. cit.*, Plate XXXIX, 2. A hoard found at Wettolsheim in 1921 had similar remnants of coin rolls: cf. F. A. Schaeffer, publ. cited in note 33, pp. 93-94.

instead of being handled individually, they circulated in leathern bags which contained, presumably, a fixed number of coins—in other words, the coin-filled container, instead of a single coin, constituted a unit.<sup>4</sup> Have we not, then, in these leather-covered rolls of coins, the coin-filled containers in question?

The normal diameter for the *folles* as created by Diocletian in his monetary reform of 295 A.D. has been established as 27–30 mm.<sup>5</sup> There is apparent from the present hoard, however, a distinct tendency, especially in the Gallic mints, toward a slightly smaller coin, 25 or 26 mm. in maximum diameter, before about the year 299 or 300. Throughout the hoard, moreover, elliptical coins are as much the rule as coins approximately round. Thus, some “unreduced”<sup>6</sup> *folles* show minimum diameters as low as 23 mm. (Diocletian 15, 41; Maximian 57; Constantius 52, 57, 271), and maximum diameters as high as 31 mm. (Diocletian 325; Constantius 266; Galerius 10, 25, 70). “Reduced”<sup>6</sup> *folles* vary between 23 and 26 mm. Other characteristics also attest the lack of care in the minting of these coins. There are no fixed die-positions: obverse and reverse occur at almost any angle to each other. Few coins have an edge that is even approximately smooth, and a large number have

<sup>4</sup> Cf. T. Mommsen, *Histoire de la monnaie romaine* III (Paris, 1873), p. 105 and note 2; O. Seeck, Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* VI, pp. 2833, 2835; J. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne* III. p. xli; F. von Schrötter, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930), p. 200.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. F. von Schrötter, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 13.

fissures penetrating 10, 12, and even 15 mm. into the coin.

The hoard consists, with the exception of a single *Antoninianus* (Maximian 9), entirely of *folles* dating from 295 to 307 A.D. The Emperors represented are:

Diocletian—as Augustus and as Senior Augustus  
Maximian—as Augustus and as Senior Augustus  
Constantius—as Caesar and as Augustus  
Galerius—as Caesar and as Augustus  
Severus II—as Caesar and as Augustus  
Maximinus Daza—as Caesar  
Constantine—as Caesar  
Maxentius—as Caesar

The hoard is in no sense a “collector’s hoard,” but is definitely representative of the “état de la circulation monétaire”<sup>7</sup> in the Gallic Rhineland at the time of its burial. The presence of the *antoninianus* (provided the coin is not an intrusion, for which there is hardly any indication) has interest as showing that, despite the fact that Diocletian’s currency reform of 295 A.D. provided for the immediate supplantation of the *antoniniani* by the *folles*,<sup>8</sup> the smaller coins still circulated (or, at least, remained in existence) as late as 307.

<sup>7</sup> A. Blanchet, *Les trésors de monnaies romaines et les invasions germaniques en Gaule* (Paris, 1900), p. VII.

<sup>8</sup> Seeck, *l. c.* (note 4), p. 2834, holds that the *antoniniani* were not recalled from circulation by the government, but were “*schlichtweg verboten*.”



The hoard contains numerous examples of the confusion of Emperors' effigies so frequent at this period—or, more exactly, of the substitution of the portrait of another Emperor, or of a stylized portrait, for the true image of the Emperor whose name appeared in the legend. This substitution, as Maurice has explained,<sup>9</sup> is found on coins issued in one half of the Empire in the name of an Emperor of the other half, or on coins issued shortly after the accession of a new Emperor whose portrait the mints did not yet have. In the present hoard, fortunately, the substitution of effigies does not enter appreciably into the already difficult problem of distinguishing the GENIO POPVLI ROMANI *folles* of Maximian from the similar issues (especially in the Western mints) of Galerius as Augustus, coins in which the identity of obverse legend and reverse leave only the portrait of the Emperor as a criterion of distinction.<sup>10</sup>

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The Seltz Hoard contains the following *inedita* (No. 6 is in the possession of M. Robert Forrer; the rest are in the Cabinet Numismatique at Strasbourg):

1. Diocletian 66. *Obv.* IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG. Head laureate, right. *Rev.* M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN. Usual figure.  $\frac{|*}{ATR}$  A.D. 303.

<sup>9</sup> J. Maurice, *op. cit.* (note 4) I, pp. 4–13.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. P. Monti and L. Laffranchi, *Bollettino di Numismatica e di Arte della Medaglia* I (1903), pp. 8–9; O. Voetter, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1917, p. 28.

This type has hitherto been found only with the portrait of the Emperor laureate and either cuirassed or wearing a paludamentum (cf. Diocletian 65).

2. Diocletian 352. *Obv.* IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG. Head laureate, right. *Rev.* SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN. Usual figure.  $\frac{I}{P \cdot \cdot \cdot}$  A.D. 303–305.

This type has hitherto been found only with the obverse legend IMP C DIOCLETIANVS etc. (cf. Diocletian 346–351, 353–357). The legend of 352 does occur on coins of Siscia (cf. Diocletian 362–363).

3. Diocletian 360. *Obv.* IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P AVG. Head laureate, right. *Rev.* GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Usual figure.  $\frac{I \Gamma}{* S I S}$  A.D. ca. 300–301.

The Obverse legend is new for Siscia. Both . . . AVG and . . . P F AVG have been found heretofore, but not . . . P AVG (cf. Voetter, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1920, p. 102).

4. Diocletian 365. *Obv.* IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVGVSTVS. Head laureate, right. *Rev.* GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Usual figure.  $\frac{\Delta}{K | V}$   $\frac{ANT}{ANT}$  A.D. 303.

The complete word AVGVSTVS, instead of the usual abbreviation AVG, is new.

5. Diocletian 376. *Obv.* IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG. Bust laureate and cuirassed, right. *Rev.* SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR. Usual figure. A.D. 303.

The mint-marks are practically illegible. The remaining traces of the exergue might suit PT\* or PTR. As far as we now know, only the mints of Ticinum, Aquileia and Siscia struck this reverse legend; and no

coin of this type is known which has a cuirassed portrait of the Emperor,<sup>11</sup> or which omits P F before AVG in the obverse legend.

6. Diocletian 377. *Obv.* IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG. Head laureate, right. *Rev.* MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN. Usual figure.  $\frac{| B?}{ATR?}$  A.D. 303.

This type has hitherto been found only with the Emperor's bust laureate and either cuirassed or wearing a paludamentum (cf. Diocletian 68–70). *It is quite possible that the cuirass or paludamentum originally was present but is no longer visible in the coin's present condition.*

7. Maximian 250 and 251. *Obv.* IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG. Bust laureate and cuirassed, right. *Rev.* GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Usual figure, with altar in form of candelabrum.  $\frac{S | F}{PTR}$  A.D. 304–305.

The altar in the GENIO POPVLI ROMANI reverse has hitherto been found only in coins struck by the mint at Lugdunum. Its appearance here in two coins from the mint of Treviri emphasizes the close association which must have been maintained between the two mints.<sup>12</sup> In addition, No. 250 has the POP VLI interruption of the reverse legend which is typical of the "altar" coins struck at Lugdunum, and No. 251 has the POPV LI interruption which appears on the contemporary (altar-less) issues of Treviri.

<sup>11</sup> Voetter, *ll. cc.* note 15, assigns all coins from these mints with cuirassed busts to the Second Tetrarchy. Such an assignation may, however, be questioned.

<sup>12</sup> The mint at Treviri was created in 295 A.D. by the removal thither of the staffs of the third and fourth *officinae* of the Lugdunum mint: cf., e. g., H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* V<sup>2</sup> [by Percy H. Webb], pp. 212–213.

8. Constantius 18. *Obv.* CONSTANTIVS NOB C. Head laureate, right. *Rev.* GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Usual figure.  $\frac{|B}{PLG}$  A.D. 299–300.

This type has hitherto been found only with the portrait of the Emperor laureate and cuirassed (cf. Voetter, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1917, Tafel XXII). This coin would seem to be, then, a sort of transition piece, issued no doubt only for a short time, from the uncuirassed effigies of the preceding years to the cuirassed busts of the subsequent years. Cf. also Constantius 17, 60–64.

9. Constantius 290. *Obv.* IMP CONSTANTIVS P F AVG. Head laureate, right. *Rev.* SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN. Usual figure.  $\frac{|☆}{RP}$  A.D. 305–306.

This type has hitherto been found only with the obverse legend IMP C CONSTANTIVS etc. (according to Voetter, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1925, p. 13; cf. No. 2, above. Cohen, however, lists such a coin under Constantius Chlorus No. 261).

10. Galerius 205. *Obv.* MAXIMIANVS NOB C. Head laureate, rt. *Rev.* SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR. Usual figure.  $\frac{|}{TT}$  A.D. 304–305?

The only obverse legend of Galerius as Caesar hitherto found with this reverse is MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES (cf. Galerius 202–204, 206–215, 225). On the date suggested, see below, p. 13.

11 and 12. Severus 238–248 and 249–261. *Obv.* IMP SEVERVS PIVS AVG. IMP SEVERVS PIVS F AVG. Bust laureate and cuirassed, right. *Rev.* GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Usual figure.  $\frac{S|F}{PTR}$  A.D. 306–307.

These two obverse legends are hitherto unrecorded for Treviri. Their occurrence on coins in London was, indeed, reported many years ago, but Voetter (*Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1918, p. 183 note 2) questioned the attribution of those coins to the mint of Treviri, since they are devoid of mint-marks (or were apparently so reported). Mr. Mattingly writes me that an example of IMP SEVERVS PIVS AVG is to be found in the collection of the Rev. E. A. Sydenham, and a specimen of IMP SEVERVS PIVS F AVG in the British Museum.

13 and 14. Constantine 238 and 287. *Obv.* FL VAL CONSTANTINVS N C. Bust laureate and cuirassed, right. *Obv.* FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOBIL C. Bust laureate, wearing paludamentum, right. *Rev.* MARTI PATRI CONSERVATORI. Usual figure.  $\frac{S|A}{PTR}$  A.D. 307.

The only obverse legend hitherto found with this reverse is FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C (Constantine 239–286). Mr. Mattingly writes that there is a specimen of FL VAL CONSTANTINVS N C in the British Museum.

## THE MINTS

The distribution of the coins among the mints represented is as follows:

Coins in the inventory list (below):

Treviri.....	2054
Lugdunum.....	174
Ticinum.....	65
Roma.....	58
Carthago.....	54
Londinium.....	45
Aquileia.....	6
Siscia.....	6
Antiochia.....	2
Heraclea Thracum.....	1
[Unattributed].....	3
	<hr/>
	2468

Coins not in the inventory list:

Unidentifiable.....	14
Coins matted together and preserved thus for display <sup>13</sup> .....	82
	<hr/>
Total.....	2564

This distribution is exactly what we might have expected in view of the provenience of the hoard. Less than 1% of the coins come from the Eastern mints, and among the Western mints Treviri is overwhelmingly predominant.

One of the coins classed as "Unattributed," Galerius 246, bears the mint-marks  $\frac{1}{O\star}$ . If, as is

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 1, 3.

probable, the O is a badly struck Q, the coin is to be assigned to the mint of Roma (cf. Galerius 223).

The establishment of a chronological sequence of the exergual and field marks of the different mints, and the dating of the different issues of *folles* by this means, were first undertaken by Otto Voetter, who published the results of his researches on the mints of Carthago,<sup>14</sup> Alexandria, Antiochia and Lugdunum, Treviri, Siscia, Aquileia and Roma.<sup>15</sup> More recently, Lodovico Laffranchi has studied the issues during the First Tetrarchy of the mints of Londinium, Lugdunum and Treviri, with particular emphasis on the years 295–297.<sup>16</sup> Laffranchi astutely distinguishes a number of confusing issues, and some of Voetter's datings of the issues of Lugdunum and Treviri must be revised in the light of his study. Voetter's study on Carthago has now been superseded by that of Georg Elmer.<sup>17</sup>

For Ticinum alone, of the mints more frequently encountered in this Seltz Hoard, there is no such study, so far as I am aware, for the period between the monetary reform in 295 and the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian in 305. I have attempted, by comparing the Ticinum coins of the present hoard with parallel issues from other mints, to establish a rough chronology of the Ticinum mint-marks found in the hoard. This chronology needs,

<sup>14</sup> In *Mittheilungen des Clubs der Münz- und Medaillen-Freunde in Wien* IV (1893).

<sup>15</sup> In *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1911, 1917, 1918, 1920, 1923 and 1925, respectively.

<sup>16</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1927, pp. 233–243.

<sup>17</sup> *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1932, pp. 23–36.

of course, to be verified—or rather, modified and amplified—by a more complete study of the *folles* of this mint than is possible from the 65 examples at my disposal. Tentatively, therefore, I offer the following system of dating:

A.D. 300-1	301-2	302-3	303-4
$\frac{ }{PT}$	$\frac{* }{PT}$	$\frac{* }{PT^{\circ}}$	$\frac{ *}{PT}$
A.D. 304-5 <sup>18</sup>	305	305-7 <sup>18</sup>	307-9 <sup>19</sup>
$\frac{ }{PT^{\circ}}$	$\frac{ ^{\circ}}{PT^{\circ}}$	$\frac{ ^{\circ}}{PT}$ or $\frac{^{\circ} }{PT}$	$\frac{ }{PT}$

S(*ecunda officina*) or T(*ertia officina*) may, of course, appear in place of P(*rima officina*).

#### DATE OF BURIAL OF THE HOARD

The approximate date at which the Seltz Hoard was buried is easily determined. The latest coins in the hoard, struck in the names of the retired as well as the reigning Emperors, are: Diocletian 29-37 and 320-323; Maximian 27-41 and 515-559; Galerius 28-39 and 196-201; Constantine 1-2, 4-25 and 173-383; Maximinus Daza 3, 9-19 and 289-291. These coins belong to the so-called "first reduction" of the *folles*. This "first reduction," by which the *folles* was reduced in diameter to between 24 and 26 mm. and in weight to between 5.0 and 8.0 grams, is generally dated in the latter part of 307 A.D. or

<sup>18</sup> Cf. J. Maurice, *op. cit.* (note 4) II, pp. 212-213 and Tableau IX.

<sup>19</sup> And recurring for many years afterwards: cf. *ibid.*, pp. 231 ff. and Tableau IX.



early in 308,<sup>20</sup> and constitutes a *terminus post quem* for the burial of the hoard. A *terminus ante quem* is found in the absence from the hoard of any coin of Constantine as Augustus, which title appears on his coins toward the end of 307 or early in 308.<sup>21</sup> The hoard must have been buried, then, after the "first reduction" of the *folles*, and at least before the coins of Constantine as Augustus had become numerous, if not altogether before they were struck—in other words, late in the year 307, or, at the very latest, very early in 308.

The above considerations are of more than immediate interest, for they may help to fix more precisely the date of the "first reduction" of the *folles*. Sydenham has shown<sup>22</sup> that the coins of Maximian

D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG

GENIO POPVLI ROMANI or GENIO POP ROM

(Maximian 27–41, 515–522)

and

<sup>20</sup> Cf. H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins* (London, 1928) p. 224; E. A. Sydenham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1934, pp. 155, 157.

<sup>21</sup> Constantine's marriage to Fausta, Maximian's daughter, took place in March (probably March 31), 307 A.D., at which time Maximian conferred upon his son-in-law the title of Augustus. Constantine, however, did not use this title on his coins immediately, as was formerly supposed (e. g., by Maurice, *op. cit.* [note 4] II, pp. 13, 211), but first began to strike coins as Augustus very late in 307 or early in 308 A.D.: cf. E. A. Sydenham, *l. c.* (note 20), pp. 155, 158–159, 166. The present Seltz Hoard confirms Sydenham's chronology.

<sup>22</sup> *L. c.* (note 20), pp. 154–155, 166.

IMP C M AVREL VAL MAXIMIANVS P F AVG OR

IMP C VAL MAXIMIANVS P F AVG

GENIO POP ROM

(Maximian 523–559)

were issued from ca. March or April of 307 (marriage of Constantine to Fausta) until the late summer or early autumn of the same year (when Maximian left Gaul to join Maxentius in Rome), contemporaneously with the similar coins of Constantine (as Caesar), in whose mints they were struck. Now these issues of Maximian consist of both "unreduced" and "reduced" *folles*. Sydenham suggests that the "reduced" *folles* may have been issued during Maximian's second visit to Constantine, i. e., after April 308.<sup>23</sup> If these "reduced" *folles*, which are present in the Seltz Hoard are to be thus dated, the absence from the hoard of any coin of Constantine as Augustus is inexplicable. These difficulties are avoided, however, if we suppose the "first reduction" to have taken place during the issuance of these coins in 307—during the summer of the year, for example.<sup>24</sup>

#### REASON FOR BURIAL OF THE HOARD

In 1900, Adrien Blanchet advanced the theory that deposits of Roman coins found in the Rhineland and westward (and, a fortiori, numerous contemporary deposits found within a limited region)

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. *infra*, p. 17.

<sup>24</sup> Seeck's dating of the "first reduction" early in 307 (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik* XVII [1890], p. 124) is based on the erroneous assumption that Constantine struck coins as Augustus immediately after receiving that title from Maximian (cf. note 21).

were evidences of invasions of Germanic tribes into Gaul at the time of the burial of the hoard; and further, that the location of the different contemporary finds could serve as indices of the route taken by the invaders.<sup>25</sup> The theory is a good one, as Cagnat remarks, "à condition de ne point pousser les choses à l'excès."<sup>26</sup> It is no doubt true that in times of danger, such as those of the invasions, the inhabitants of the regions affected hid their valuables to keep them from falling into the hands of the marauders, and in many cases did not survive to retrieve them when the danger was past. But the number of other possible causes which might have motivated the hiding of any given hoard—avarice, for example, to name but one—are legion; and the habit which has grown up of seeing in each new hoard unearthed in France an indication of another barbarian inroad,<sup>27</sup> is to be deprecated.

The present hoard is a case in point. The only important Germanic invasions about the time of the burial of the Seltz Hoard of which we have any record are those of the Franks. We are told that in 306 A.D. Constantine beat back the Franks who had advanced into Gaul.<sup>28</sup> The Franks were again

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 7). Blanchet reiterates and extends his theory to the Mediterranean world in *Revue numismatique* XXXIX (1936), pp. 3–70.

<sup>26</sup> *Revue archéologique*, 1900, p. 336.

<sup>27</sup> E. g., Forrer, *l. c.* (note 1), lacking precise data on the dates of the coins in this Seltz Hoard, suggests the great invasion of 313 A.D. as the cause for its burial (Blanchet, *l. c.* [note 25], pp. 64–65, follows Forrer); cf. also pp. 184–189.

<sup>28</sup> Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* l. 25; cf. *Panegy. Const. Aug.* VI, 11–12 (ed. W. Baehrens, *XII Panegyrici Latini* [Leipzig, 1911], pp. 209–210).

up in arms, and Constantine once again marched against them shortly after Maximian had rejoined him in Gaul in 308 A. D.<sup>29</sup> Maximian returned to Constantine after his expulsion from Rome by Maxentius. This expulsion took place ca. April of 308. Therefore, even if Maximian went straightway to Constantine,<sup>30</sup> the uprising of the Franks cannot be placed earlier than April or May of 308, and consequently cannot be considered the cause of the burial of the Seltz Hoard, which took place at least four months before. Moreover, an uprising of the Franks, who inhabited the territory around Cologne, can hardly have affected greatly the inhabitants of (what is now) Alsace, especially since Trèves stood as a bulwark between them and the Franks.

### THE CHEMICAL COMPOSITION OF THE *Follis*

(See Appendix)

The *follis* is generally defined as a billon coin, or as a bronze coin thinly coated with silver to give it the appearance of a silver coin.<sup>31</sup> The bases for

<sup>29</sup> Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 29.

<sup>30</sup> There is some doubt on this point: cf. C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* VII (Paris 1926), p. 103 note 3.

<sup>31</sup> E. g., T. Mommsen, *op. cit.* (note 4) III, pp. 98–99, 102; O. Seeck, *l. c.* (note 4), pp. 2832, 2834–2835; J. Maurice, *op. cit.* (note 4) III, pp. xxxii–xxxiv, xliii–xliv; E. A. Sydenham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1919, p. 155; Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* II<sup>2</sup> (*Münzkunde*, by K. Regling), 2, p. 29; M. Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Haale, 1926), p. 23; H. Mattingly, *op. cit.* (note 20), pp. 216, 223, 232; A. Segrè, *Metrologia e circolazione monetaria degli antichi* (Bologna, 1928), p. 436, and *Enciclopedia Italiana*, s. v. *Follis*; F.

these definitions are: 1) *Codex Theodosianus* ix. 21. 6, a *constitutio* of the year 349, which takes cognizance of the fact that many money-minters have been removing the silver from the *maiorina pecunia* and forbids the continuance of this practice under penalty of death; 2) the results of some scattered analyses, made during the last one hundred years, of bronze coins dating from ca. 300 to ca. 340 A. D. In the most comprehensive of these analyses the coins were supposedly all from the mint of Roma; other analyses, until quite recently, were limited to a single coin from Alexandria, Antiochia, Aquileia and Nicomedia. These analyses revealed the presence in *folles* of Diocletian and Maximian of silver varying in quantity from less than  $\frac{1}{2}\%$  to about 3% and once, 4.18%.<sup>32</sup> It does not seem to have occurred to the writers on the subject that the small amount of silver detected may have been an impurity in the ore used.

In view of the inconclusive nature of this evidence, it seemed obvious that careful analysis of some of the coins of the present hoard would be valuable, even if it did nothing more than lend support to the traditional view. These analyses promised to be all the more interesting, moreover, since the coins come from the Western Mints for which until recently sample analyses have been lacking.<sup>33</sup> Specimens from the mints of Treviri,

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von Schrötter, *l. c.* (note 4); G. Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft im römischen Reich des vierten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Helsingfors, 1932), pp. 83–84; G. Elmer, *Verzeichnis der römischen Reichsprägungen von Augustus bis Anastasius* (Vienna, 1933), p. 26.

<sup>32</sup> J. Maurice, *op. cit.* (note 4) III, p. xxxiv.

<sup>33</sup> Schaeffer, *Bulletin de la Société pour la conservation des monu-*

Lugdunum, Ticinum and Carthago were therefore chosen which, judging from their silvery sheen, might be expected to have a relatively high silver content. *The results show that none of these coins contained any silver, except for an occasional trace present as an impurity.*<sup>34</sup> The "silvery metal" discernible on the surface of the coins was revealed, on careful examination, to be green (copper oxide), and we are therefore justified in calling into question the "traces luisantes d'argent" heretofore reported on *folles* and accepted as proof that these coins were silver-washed or -plated.<sup>35</sup> A systematic series of analyses for all the mints is of course needed before the final word can be said on the subject. A priori, however, there seems to be no reason why, at the same period and lacking special circumstances, the *folles* of some mints should contain silver and those of other mints not; and until further proof is forthcoming, we are probably justified in considering the silver found in the earlier analyses also as impurity. The higher percentage of silver found in those analyses need indicate nothing more than that the copper ore used in the

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*ments historiques d'Alsace*, 1926, pp. 114–115, gives the results of analyses made of five *folles* dating from between 296 and 313 A. D. The coins, from the mints of Londinium, Carthago, Ticinum and Treviri, show only traces of silver.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the similar results in Schaeffer, *ibid.*, and in R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *The Bucheum* (London, 1934) I, p. 119 (bronze coins, including "reduced" *folles*, from the mint of Alexandria).

<sup>35</sup> T. Mommsen, *op. cit.* (note 4) III, p. 98 note 1, citing the Vezénaz Hoard described by F. Soret, *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève* I (1841), pp. 240–241. Cf. F. A. Schaeffer, *l. c.*, p. 94.

Eastern Mints (and Rome ?) was richer in silver than that used in the Western Mints.

The definition of the *follis*, at least as issued during the period 295–307 A. D. by the four mints in our tests, must therefore be revised in the light of these findings. *The follis was simply a bronze coin.* Traces of silver occasionally found in these coins are impurities and not intentional additions.

What, however, of the *constitutio* cited above? It cannot be questioned that the government intended the *maiorina pecunia* to contain silver. However, is it justifiable to transfer bodily the dispositions of 349 A. D. to the period of the Tetrarchies? The history of continual variation in the bronze coinage in the first half of the fourth century makes such a transference more than ordinarily dangerous. An explanation of the meaning of the *constitutio*, on which I am far from prepared to insist but which I offer rather as a suggestion, is the following: The successive "reductions" of the *follis* proceeded until, about 340 A.D., the coin had fallen in weight to between 1.5 and 2 grams. In that year or not very long after, the weight was raised to between 4 and 5 grams.<sup>36</sup> May it not be that the *maiorina pecunia* to which the *constitutio* of 349 A.D. refers is this heavier coinage as distinguished from the lighter *folles* coined before the rise in weight? That even in 356 A. D., after a second rise in weight (in 351) to ca. 6 grams,<sup>37</sup> not

<sup>36</sup> Mattingly, *l. c.* (note 20), places the change in 340, and gives the new weight as 5.18 grams. Mickwitz, *op. cit.* (note 31), p. 82, places the change ca. 344 and gives the new weight as 4.3 grams.



<sup>37</sup> 5.8 grams according to Mickwitz, *ibid.*

all *folles* were of this "somewhat larger coinage" is shown by the summary of *Codex Theodosianus* ix. 23.1 in the Vatican MS, . . . *ut nulli viatori liceat amplius a mille follibus portare neque centenales* (small coins) *vel maiorinas*, if, as seems almost unquestionable, *follis* here signifies the coin and not the coin-filled container (cf. *supra*, p. 00).

### INVENTORY OF THE HOARD

The following remarks may serve as a key to facilitate the use of the inventory-list hereinafter.

1.—In the description of the obverse portraits, the following symbols and abbreviations are used:

-  = head laureate, right
-  = head laureate, left
- helm. = head helmeted
- c = bust cuirassed
- p = bust wearing paludamentum
- r = bust wearing imperial robe; holding an olive branch and *mappa* or papyrus roll

2.—The reverses, being all of well-known types and easily identifiable by the legend or by the references cited, have not been described. A wide space between words, or a space within a word, indicates where the legend is interrupted by the figure.

In the mint-marks, both 6-pointed and 8-pointed (once 10-pointed) asterisks appear. The 6-pointed asterisk is represented in the printed inventory-list by ☆.



3.—In giving the weights of a group of more than two identical coins, only the minimum and maximum weights found in the group have been indicated. (Thus, e. g., Diocletian 5–12, weight 9.00–10.90, indicates that these coins vary in weight from 9.00 to 10.90 grams.)

4.—It has been found impractical to include the diameters of the coins in this list. The necessary observations will be found above, pp. 4, 13.

5.—The dates assigned the coins are based on the references cited. On the dates assigned the coins struck at Ticinum see above, p. 13.

6. The following abbreviations are used in the citation of references:

C. = Henry Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*. 2e édition, Vols. VI (1886) and VII (1888). Since the coins of Galerius as Augustus are assigned by Cohen to Maximian (Maximien Hercule, Vol. VI), these are indicated by the letters C. (M. H.).

E. = Georg Elmer's article cited above, note 17.

L. = Lodovico Laffranchi's article cited above, note 16.
















M and S = *op. cit. supra*, note 12.

S. = E. A. Sydenham's article referred to above, note 20.

V. = Otto Voetter's articles in *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, cited above, note 15. The references to these articles are given by the year of the periodical and by page, where the necessary references to Voetter's plates can be found.

INVENTORY OF  
THE SELTZ HOARD

## DIOCLETIAN

No.	Obverse		Reverse
			LONDINIUM
1-3	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
4	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
5-12	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
13	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
14	D N DIOCLETIANO FELICISSIMO		PROVIDENTIA DEORVM
	SEN AVG	 r	QVIES AVGG
			LUGDUNUM
15-16	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS AVG	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
17	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P AVG		GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
18	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
19-21	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
22	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
	helm., l., c, spear, shield		(altar)
23	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
			(altar)
24	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	 p	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
			(altar)
25	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
			(altar)
26	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
			(altar)
27	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
			(altar)
28	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	 p	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
			(altar)

## DIOCLETIAN

	Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
IX	$\frac{ }{-}$	8.75-9.90	297-303	C. 101; L. pp. 242-3.
RON	$\frac{ }{-}$	9.60	297-303	C. 103; L. pp. 242-3.
RON	$\frac{ }{-}$	9.00-10.90	297-303	C. 103; L. pp. 242-3.
RON	$\frac{ }{-}$	9.00	303-304	C. 87; L. p. 243.
RON	$\frac{ }{-}$	8.35	305	C. 426.
IX	$\frac{A }{PL}$	8.25, 8.75	297-298	C. 99; V. '17, p. 27; L. pp. 242-3.
IX	$\frac{ }{LP}$	10.60	298-299	C. 100; V. '17, p. 27; L. p. 243.
IX	$\frac{ }{LP}$	11.25	298-299	C. 100; V. '17, p. 27; L. p. 243.
IX	$\frac{ }{LP}$	7.35-9.55	298-299	C. 101; V. '17, p. 27; L. p. 243.
IX	$\frac{ B}{PLG}$	12.35	300-303	—; V. '17, p. 27, and Pl. IX, 21; L. p. 243.
IX	$\frac{ A}{PLG}$	8.70	303-304	C. 119; V. '17, p. 27.
IX	$\frac{ A}{PLG}$	9.35	303-304	C. 119 (var.); V. '17, p. 27.
IX	$\frac{ A}{PLG}$	12.15	303-304	C. 120; V. '17, p. 27.
IX	$\frac{ B}{PLG}$	10.60	303-304	C. 119; V. '17, p. 27.
IX	$\frac{ B}{PLG}$	8.85	303-304	C. 120; V. '17, p. 27.
IX	$\frac{ *}{PLG}$	9.75	304-305	C. 119 (var.); V. '17, p. 28.

## DIOCLETIAN

No.

Obverse

Reverse

## LUGDUNUM—Cont.

29-36 D N DIOCLETIANO P F S AVG

 r QVIES AVG VSTORVM

37 D N DIOCLETIANO P F S AVG

 r QVIES AVGG

## TREVIRI

38 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG

 GENIO POP VLI ROMANI

39-40 IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG

 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI


41-43 IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG

 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

44 IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG

 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

45 IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG

 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

46 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG

 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

47 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG

 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

48-50 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG

 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

51 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG

 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

52 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG

 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

53 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG

 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

54 IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG

 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

55 IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG

 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

56 IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG

 p GENIO POPV LI ROMANI


57 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG

 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

58 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG

 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

59 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG

 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

60 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG

 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

61 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG

 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

62 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG

 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

63 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG

 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

64 IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG


















GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

helm., rt., c

## DIOCLETIAN

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{  N}{PLG}$	6.65-8.60	307	C. 430; V. '17, p. 29.
$\frac{S   C}{PLG}$	8.30	307	C. 428; V. '17, p. 29.
$\frac{ }{TR}$	10.60	295-296	C. 100; V. '18, p. 181; L. p. 241.
$\frac{A  }{TR}$	8.15, 10.50	296	C. 85; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 241.
$\frac{A   \Gamma}{TR}$	8.25-11.00	296-297	C. 85; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{B   \Gamma}{TR}$	7.50	296-297	C. 86; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{C   \Gamma}{TR}$	10.75	296-297	C. 85; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{B   \Gamma}{TR}$	8.20	296-297	C. 92; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{A   \Gamma}{TR}$	11.45	296-297	C. 94; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{B   \Gamma}{TR}$	7.20, 9.70	296-297	C. 94; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{A   \Gamma}{TR}$	8.90	296-297	C. 95; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{C   \Gamma}{TR}$	8.10	297-298	C. 91; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{A   \Gamma}{TR}$	10.15	297-298	C. 93; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{A   *}{TR}$	8.20	299-301?	C. 85; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{A   *}{TR}$	10.50	299-303	C. 87; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{A   *}{TR}$	8.20	299-303	C. 87 (var.); V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{A   *}{TR}$	8.65	299-301?	—; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{A   *}{TR}$	10.45	299-303	C. 91; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{B   *}{TR}$	8.80	299-303	C. 91; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{B   \star}{TR}$	8.80	299-303	C. 91; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{A   *}{TR}$	8.10	299-301?	C. 94; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{B   *}{TR}$	9.30	299-301?	C. 94; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{B   *}{TR}$	9.30	299-303	C. 93; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{A   *}{TR}$	11.50	299-303	—; V. 18, p. 182 and Pl. XI, 12.

## DIOCLETIAN
















No.	Obverse	Reverse
		TREVIRI—Cont.
65	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	 c M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN
66	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG	 M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN
67	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG	 c M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN
68-69	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG	 c MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN
70	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG	 c MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN
71-73	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
74	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
75-76	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
77-85	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
86-87	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
88-197	D N DIOCLETIANO BAEATISSIMO SEN AVG	 r PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG
198-319	D N DIOCLETIANO FELICISSIMO SEN AVG	 r PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG
320	D N DIOCLETIANO P F S AVG	 r QVIES AV GVSTORVM
321-322	D N DIOCLETIANO P F S AVG	 r QVIES AV GVSTORVM
323	D N DIOCLETIANO P F S AVG	 r QVIES AVGG
		TICINUM
324-325	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG	 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
326	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG	 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

## DIOCLETIAN

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{  \cdot}{\text{ATR}}$	9.30	303	C. 346; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{  \cdot}{\text{ATR}}$	8.35	303	Unpublished (see above p. 6).
$\frac{  \cdot}{\text{BTR}}$	9.20	303	C. 345; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{  \cdot}{\text{ATR}}$	6.95, 8.60	303	C. 344; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{S   F}{\text{ITR}}$	9.10	303-304	C. 344; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{S   F}{\text{ITR}}$	9.00-11.40	303-304	—— ; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{\text{ITR}}$	9.60	303-304	—— ; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{\text{ITR}}$	9.35, 10.30	303-304	C. 111; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{\text{PTR}}$	8.70-11.55	304-305	—— ; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{\text{PTR}}$	10.60, 10.85	304-305	C. 111; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{\text{PTR}}$	8.05-12.80	305	C. 422, 424; V. '18, p. 183
$\frac{S   F}{\text{PTR}}$	7.40-12.20	305	C. 423, 426; V. '18, p. 183.
$\frac{S   C}{\text{PTR}}$	7.35	307	C. 430; V. '18, p. 184.
$\frac{S   A}{\text{PTR}}$	7.65, 8.15	307	C. 430; V. '18, p. 184.
$\frac{S   C}{\text{PTR}}$	6.60	307	C. 428; V. '18, p. 184.
$\frac{ }{\text{PT}}$	9.70, 10.40	300-301?	C. 101.
$\frac{\cdot}{\text{ST}}$	9.55	301-302?	C. 101.














## DIOCLETIAN

No.	Obverse		Reverse
			TICINUM—Cont.
327	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
328–329	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
330	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
331	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
332–333	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
334	D N DIOCLETIANO BAEATISSIMO SEN AVG	 r	PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG
335	D N DIOCLETIANO BAEATISSIMO SEN AVG	 r	PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG
336	D N DIOCLETIANO BAEATISSIMO SEN AVG	 r	PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG
337	D N DIOCLETIANO BAEATISSIMO SEN AVG	 r	PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG
338–339	D N DIOCLETIANO FELICISSIMO SEN AVG	 r	PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG
			ROMA
340	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
341	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
342	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
343	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
344	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

## DIOCLETIAN

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{ }{PT\bullet}$	10.40	302-303?	C. 101.
$\frac{ }{PT\bullet}$	9.50, 11.30	304-305?	C. 436.
$\frac{ }{ST\bullet}$	12.85	304-305?	C. 436.
$\frac{ }{PT\bullet}$	10.55	304-305?	C. 436.
$\frac{ }{ST\bullet}$	8.65, 9.25	304-305?	C. 436.
$\frac{  \bullet}{PT\bullet}$	9.10	305	C. 422.
$\frac{  \bullet}{PT}$	9.60	305	C. 422.
$\frac{  \bullet}{ST}$	9.30	305	C. 422.
$\frac{  \bullet}{TT}$	9.55	305	C. 422.
$\frac{  \bullet}{PT}$	8.75, 10.50	305	C. 423.
$\frac{R }{?}$	9.90	296-?	C. 101; V. '25, pp. 9, 10.
$\frac{R }{A}$	9.10	296-?	C. 101; V. '25, pp. 9, 10.
$\frac{R }{B}$	11.30	296-?	C. 101; V. '25, pp. 9, 10.
$\frac{R }{B}$	8.20	296-?	C. 101; V. '25, pp. 9, 10.
$\frac{ }{P\star}$	11.40	?-305	C. 101; V. '25, p. 12.










## DIOCLETIAN

No.	Obverse		Reverse
			ROMA—Cont.
345	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
346-351	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
352	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
353-356	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
357	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
			AQUILEIA
358	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
359	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
			SISCIA
360	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P AVG		GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
361	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
362	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
363	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR

## DIOCLETIAN

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\overline{\text{P}} \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$	8.95	?-305	C. 94.
$\overline{\text{P}} \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$	8.10-10.95	303-305	C. 434; V. '25, p. 12.
$\overline{\text{P}} \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$	8.50	303-305	Unpublished (see above, p. 7).
$\overline{\text{R}} \sim \text{P}$	8.10-11.70	303-305	C. 434; V. '25, p. 12.
$\overline{\text{R}} \sim \text{P}$	9.25	303-305	C. 434; V. '25, p. 12.
$\overline{\text{AQP}}$	10.50	303	C. 435; V. '23, p. 2.
$\overline{\text{AQS}}$	8.95	304	C. 435; V. '23, p. 2.
$\overline{\star \text{SIS}}$	9.90	ca. 300-301	C. 100; V. '20, p. 102; see above, p. 7.
$\overline{\star \text{SIS}}$	9.20	ca. 300-301	C. 101; V. '20, p. 102.
$\overline{\star \text{SIS}}$	8.90	303	C. 435; V. '20, p. 102.
$\overline{\star \text{SIS}}$	10.55	303-304	C. 435; V. '20, p. 102.

## DIOCLETIAN















No.	Obverse		Reverse
			HERACLEA THRACUM
364	IMP C C VAL DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
			ANTIOCHIA
365	IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVGVSTVS		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
			CARTHAGO
366-367	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		FELIX ADV ENT AVGG NN
368	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		FELIX A D VENT AVGG NN
369-370	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART
371-374	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART
375	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART
			[UNATTRIBUTED]
376	IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG	 C	SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
377	IMP DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG		MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN

## DIOCLETIAN

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{ }{HTA}$	9.50	ca. 300–301?	C. 106. For date, cf. V. '20, p. 102. (Obverse type here same as at Siscia.)
$\frac{K   \overset{\Delta}{V}}{ANT}$	10.45	303	Unpublished (see above, p. 7). For date, cf. V. '17, p. 12).
$\frac{I  }{PKP}$	$\frac{A  }{PKP}$ 9.85 10.90	296–297	C. 67; E. p. 26, No. 21.
	10.45	297	C. 67; E. p. 26, No. 25.
$\frac{ }{A}$	8.95, 9.15	297–298 or 299	C. 438; E. pp. 27–28, No. 37.
$\frac{ }{A}$	8.80–10.95	298 or 299–304	C. 438; E. p. 28, No. 41.
$\frac{ }{\Delta}$	10.10	298 or 299–304	C. 438; E. p. 28, No. 41 (and note 11). <sup>1</sup>
$\frac{ }{PTR}$ or $\frac{ }{PT^{\bullet}}$ ?	8.65	303	Unpublished? (see above, p. 7).
$\frac{  B}{ATR}$ ?	8.40	303	Unpublished? (see above, p. 8).

<sup>1</sup> Hybrid complementary to Galerius 233–235.

## MAXIMIAN

















No.	Obverse	Reverse
		LONDINIUM
1-3	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 C GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
4	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG spear, shield	 C GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
5-6	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG (large head)	 C GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
7-8	D N MAXIMIANO FELICISSIMO SEN AVG	 I PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG
		LUGDUNUM
9	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG bust radiate, rt., c	PAX AVGG
10	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 GENIO POPVLI ROMANI
11	IMP C MAXIMIANVS AVG	 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
12-13	IMP C MAXIMIANVS AVG	 C GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
14	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P AVG	 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
15	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P AVG	 C GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
16-17	IMP C MAXIMIANVS AVG	 C GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
18	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	 C GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
19-21	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	 C GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
22	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	 C GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
23	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 C GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)

## MAXIMIAN

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{ }{ }$	8.20-9.60	297-303	C. 180; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{ }{ }$	10.70	298-303	V. '18, Plate XXIII; cf. L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{ }{ }$	9.05, 9.60	303-304	C. 162; L. p. 243.
$\frac{ }{ }$	9.30, 10.90	305	C. 489.
$\frac{ }{II}$	3.80	290-294	C. 438; M and S 399.
$\frac{ }{LA}$	9.85	295-296	C. 179; V. '17, p. 26; L. p. 241.
$\frac{B }{PL}$	9.70	296-297	C. 172; V. '17, p. 26; L. p. 242.
$\frac{B }{PL}$	8.10	297-298	C. 171; V. '17, p. 27; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{A }{LP}$	8.85	298-299	—; V. '17 (and Pl. X, 13); L. p. 243.
$\frac{A }{LP}$	10.45	298-299	C. 176; V. '17, p. 27; L. p. 243.
$\frac{ B}{PLG}$	8.60, 10.10	299-300	C. 218; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{ A}{PLG}$	10.35	303-304	C. 198; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{ B}{PLG}$	7.30-13.10	303-304	C. 198; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{ B}{PLG}$	10.60	303-304	C. 199; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{ A}{PLG}$	8.70	303-304	C. 214; V. '17, p. 27.





















## MAXIMIAN

No.	Obverse	Reverse	
		LUGDUNUM—Cont.	
24	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
25	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
26	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
27–37	D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
38	D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG	 p	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
39–39a	D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
40	D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG globe, sceptre?	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
41	D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG	 c	GENIO POP ROM
TREVIRI			
42	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
43	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
44	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
45	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
46–49	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
50–51	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
52	IMP MAXIMIANVS P FEL AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
53	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

## MAXIMIAN

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{  B}{PLG}$	7.35	303-304	C. 212; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{  *}{PLG}$	8.30	304-305	C. 199; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  *}{PLG}$	8.90	304-305	C. 212; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  N}{PLG}$	7.20-9.75	307	C. 223; V. '17, p. 29; S. pp. 154-5.
$\frac{  N}{PLG}$	7.40	307	C. 223 (var.); V. '17, p. 29; S. pp. 154-5.
$\frac{  N}{PLG}$	7.60, 8.05	307	C. 224; V. '17, p. 29; [S. pp. 154-5].
$\frac{  N}{PLG}$	7.60	307	C. 225; V. '17, p. 29; [S. pp. 154-5].
$\frac{S   C}{PLG}$	7.00	307	C. 142; V. '17, p. 29; S. pp. 154-5.
$\frac{ }{TR}$	11.25	295-296	C. 159; V. '18, p. 181; L. p. 241.
$\frac{A  }{TR}$	9.40	296	C. 156; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 241.
$\frac{A   \Gamma}{TR}$	9.00	296-297	—; V. '18, p. 182 (and Pl. XXIII); L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{A   \Gamma}{TR}$	8.30	296-297	C. 156; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{A   \Gamma}{TR}$	8.80-9.85	296-297	C. 159; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{B   \Gamma}{TR}$	8.45, 9.85	296-297	C. 159; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{B   \Gamma}{TR}$	9.95	296-297	C. 169; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{B   \Gamma}{TR}$	10.85	297-298	C. 153; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.

















## MAXIMIAN

No.	Obverse	Reverse
		TREVIRI—Cont.
54	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG sceptre	 p GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
55	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
56	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c MONETA SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN
57	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN
58	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG draped	 c M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN
59	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
60	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	 p GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
61	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
62	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
63	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN
64–68	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
69	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	 p GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
70–108	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
109	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
110–247	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
248–249	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 p GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
250	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
251	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI (altar)

## MAXIMIAN

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{A   *}{TR}$	8.30	299-303	—; V. '18, p. 182 (and Pl. XI, 5).
$\frac{B   *}{TR}$	8.60	299-301?	C. 159; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{  *}{ATR}$	9.65	303	—; V. '18, p. 182 (and Pl. XXV).
$\frac{  *}{ATR}$	8.40	303	C. 418; V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{  *}{ATR}$	8.60	303	C. 421 (var.); V. '18, p. 182.
$\frac{S   F}{ITR}$	9.00	303-304	C. 189; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{ITR}$	8.75	303-304	C. 191 (var.); V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{ITR}$	9.20	303-304	C. 191; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{ITR}$	7.90	303-304	C. 192; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{ITR}$	8.55	303-304	C. 418; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	8.25-11.70	304-305	C. 189; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	11.50	304-305	C. 189 (var.); V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	7.75-11.20	304-305	C. 191; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	9.95	304-305	C. 192; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	8.05-13.70	304-305	C. 192; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	9.55, 10.90	304-305	C. 192 (var.); V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	7.80	304-305	C. 212; see above, p. 8.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	10.25	304-305	C. 212; see above, p. 8.














## MAXIMIAN

No.	Obverse		Reverse
			TREVIRI—Cont.
252-377	D N MAXIMIANO BAEATISSIMO SEN AVG	 r	PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG
378-514	D N MAXIMIANO FELICISSIMO SEN AVG	 r	PROVIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG
515	D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG	 p	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
516	D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG	 c	GENIO POP ROM
517-520	D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG	 c	GENIO POP ROM
521-522	D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG	 p	GENIO POP ROM
523-535	IMP C M AVREL VAL MAXIMI- ANVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POP ROM
536-559	IMP C VAL MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POP ROM
			TICINUM
560	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
561	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
562	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
563	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
564	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
565	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
566-567	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
568	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR

## MAXIMIAN

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	7.85-12.50	305	C. 490, 491; V. '18, p. 183.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	7.00-13.70	305	C. 489, 493; V. '18, p. 183.
$\frac{S   A}{PTR}$	7.70	307	C. 223 (var.); V. '18, p. 184; S. pp. 154-5.
$\frac{S   C}{PTR}$	6.70	307	C. 142; V. '18, p. 184; S. pp. 154-5.
$\frac{S   A}{PTR}$	6.80-8.10	307	C. 142; V. '18, p. 184; S. pp. 154-5.
$\frac{S   A}{PTR}$	7.70, 8.20	307	C. 142; V. '18, p. 184; S. pp. 154-5.
$\frac{S   A}{PTR}$	6.60-9.65	307	C. 141; V. '18, p. 184; S. pp. 154-5.
$\frac{S   A}{PTR}$	4.70-8.00	307	C. 140; V. '18, p. 184; S. pp. 154-5.
$\frac{*  }{PT}$	9.90	300-301?	C. 179.
$\frac{*  }{PT}$	9.80	301-302?	C. 179.
$\frac{*  }{ST}$	7.95	302-303?	C. 179.
$\frac{\star  }{ST}$	8.75	302-303?	C. 179.
$\frac{ }{PT}$	9.50	303-304?	C. 503.
$\frac{ }{TT}$	8.70	303-304?	C. 503.
$\frac{ }{PT}$	8.90, 9.40	304-305?	C. 503.
$\frac{ }{ST}$	9.50	304-305?	C. 503.

## MAXIMIAN

No.	Obverse		Reverse
			TICINUM—Cont.
569–571	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
572	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
			ROMA
573	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
574	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
575–576	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
577	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
578	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
579–581	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
582	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
583	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
584–586	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
			AQUILEIA
587–588	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
589	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR








## MAXIMIAN

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{ }{TT^{\bullet}}$	8.25-9.15	304-305?	C. 503.
$\frac{ }{TT^{\bullet}}$	8.10	304-305?	C. 504.
$\frac{R S}{\Theta}$	$\frac{R F}{\Gamma}$ 8.60	296-?	C. 179; V. '25, p. 10.
	11.10	296-?	C. 179; V. '25, p. 10.
$\frac{ }{S^{\bullet}}$	$\frac{ }{S^{\bullet}}$ 10.50, 10.55	?-305	C. 179; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{ }{S^{\bullet}}$	9.50	303-305	C. 505; V. '25, p. 12.
	$\frac{  \star}{RS}$ 9.45	303-305	C. 505; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{  \star}{RS}$	7.65-10.70	303-305	C. 505; V. '25, p. 12.
	$\frac{  \star}{RS}$ 9.40	303-305	C. 502; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{  \star^1}{RS}$	9.55	303-305	C. 502; V. '25, p. 12.
	$\frac{ }{R-S}$ 7.45-11.15	303-305	C. 502; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{ }{AQ S}$	8.90, 9.95	301	C. 159; V. '23, p. 2.
$\frac{  V}{AQ P}$	10.60	304	C. 504; V. '23, p. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Ten-point asterisk.




















**MAXIMIAN**

No.	Obverse		Reverse
			<b>SISCIA</b>
590	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
591	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
			<b>CARTHAGO</b>
592	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		FELIX ADV ENT AVGG NN
593	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS
			AVCTA KART
594-595	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS
			FEL KART
596	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS
			FEL KART
597-601	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS
			FEL KART

## MAXIMIAN

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{  \text{B} }{ \text{SIS} }$	9.85	ca. 300	C. 179; V. '20, p. 102.
$\frac{  \Delta }{ * \text{SIS} }$	10.60	ca. 300	C. 179; V. '20, p. 102.
$\frac{  }{ \text{K S} }$	9.65	296	C. 106; E. p. 26, No. 18.
$\frac{  }{ \text{B} }$	9.10	297-298 or 299	C. 509; E. pp. 27-8, No. 39.
$\frac{  }{ \text{B} }$	8.50, 8.95	297-298 or 299	C. 510; E. pp. 27-8, No. 34.
$\frac{  }{ \text{A} }$	9.50	298 or 299-304	C. 510; E. p. 28. No. 42 (hybrid).
$\frac{  }{ \text{B} }$	7.45-9.70	298 or 299-304	C. 510; E. p. 28, No. 42.
















## CONSTANTIUS

No.	Obverse		Reverse
LONDINIUM			
1-5	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
6	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
7-8	CONSTANTIVS NOBIL C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
9	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
10	IMP CONSTANTIVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
11	IMP CONSTANTIVS PIVS FEL AUG	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
LUGDUNUM			
12	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
13	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
14	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
15-16	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
17	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
18	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
19	CONSTANTIVS NOB CS	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI (altar)
20-22	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES robe, sceptre	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
23-24	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
25-27	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
28-30	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)

## CONSTANTIUS

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{ }{ }$	9.60-11.45	297-303	C. 72; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{ }{ }$	7.90	303-304	C. 62; L. p. 243.
$\frac{ }{ }$	8.95, 10.00	303-304	C. 77; L. p. 243.
$\frac{ }{ }$	9.30	303-304	C. 84; L. p. 243.
$\frac{ }{ }$	9.60	305-306	C. 95.
$\frac{ }{ }$	9.40	305-306	C. 98.
$\frac{ }{ }$	9.70	295-296	C. 83; L. pp. 240-1.
$\frac{B }{PL}$	7.90	296-297	C. 61; V. '17, p. 27; L. p. 242.
$\frac{B }{LP}$	7.70	298-299	C. 61; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{B }{LP}$	9.80, 10.50	298-299	C. 61; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{ B}{PLG}$	8.40	299-300	C. 130.
$\frac{ B}{PLG}$	7.70	299-300	Unpublished (see above, p. 9).
$\frac{ B}{PLG}$	10.30	300-302?	C. 138; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{ B}{PLG}$	9.35-12.15	300-303	—; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{ A}{PLG}$	9.80, 10.75	303-304	C. 120; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{ B}{PLG}$	8.50-10.85	303-304	C. 120; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{ A}{PLG}$	8.70-10.45	303-304	C. 121; V. '17, p. 27.




















## CONSTANTIUS

No.	Obverse	Reverse
		LUGDUNUM—Cont.
31	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 c GENIO PO PVLI ROMANI (altar)
32–33	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 c GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
34	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 c GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
35	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 c GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
36	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 c GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
37	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 c GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
38–39	IMP CONSTANTIVS AVG	 c GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
40	IMP CONSTANTIVS AVG	 c GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
41–47	IMP CONSTANTIVS AVG	 c GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
		TREVIRI
48	CONSTANTIVS NOBIL C	 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
49–51	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
52–54	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
55–56	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES	 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
57–58	CONSTANTIVS NOBIL C	 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
59	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

## CONSTANTIUS

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{  B}{PLG}$	12.80	303-304	C. 121; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{  B}{PLG}$	7.70, 9.55	303-304	C. 121; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{  \star}{PLG}$	10.40	304-305	C. 120; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  \star}{PLG}$	10.30	304-305	C. 120; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  \star}{PLG}$	10.30	304-305	C. 121; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  \star}{PLG}$	7.80	304-305	C. 121; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  \star}{PLG}$	9.10, 10.20	305-306	C. 141; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  \star}{PLG}$	9.50	305-306	C. 141; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  \star}{PLG}$	8.75-11.15	305-306	—; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{A   \Gamma}{TR}$	9.80	296	C. 79; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 241.
$\frac{A   \Gamma}{TR}$	5.90-9.75	296-297	C. 61; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 242.
$\frac{B   \Gamma}{TR}$	8.95-10.50	296-297	C. 61; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 242.
$\frac{C   \Gamma}{TR}$	6.90-8.55	296-297	C. 61; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 242.
$\frac{A   \Gamma}{TR}$	8.80, 9.90	296-297	C. 79; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 242.
$\frac{A   \Gamma}{TR}$	10.20	297-298	C. 72; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 242.

## CONSTANTIUS

















No.	Obverse		Reverse
			TREVIRI—Cont.
60–61	CONSTANTIVS NOBIL C		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
62	CONSTANTIVS NOBIL C		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
63	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C	 ?	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
64	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
65	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS N C spear, shield	 p	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
66	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C helm., rt., c.		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
67	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
68	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
69	CONSTANTIVS NOBIL C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
70	CONSTANTIVS NOBIL C	 p	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
71	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOBIL C	 c	MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN
72–74	CONSTANTIVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
75–79	CONSTANTIVS NOBIL C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
80–159	IMP CONSTANTIVS AVG	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
160–174	IMP CONSTANTIVS P AVG	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
175–226	IMP CONSTANTIVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
227–255	DIVO CONSTANTIO PIO shroud, robe		MEMORIA FELIX
			TICINUM
256	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
257	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
258–259	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR

## CONSTANTIUS

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{A   *}{TR}$	10.30, 10.70	299-301?	C. 79; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 243.
$\frac{B   *}{TR}$	8.90	299-301?	C. 79; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 243.
$\frac{A   *}{TR}$	9.25	299-301?	C. 83?; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 243.
$\frac{B   *}{TR}$	9.70	299-301?	C. 86; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 243.
$\frac{A   *}{TR}$	8.55	299-303	C. 82 (var.); V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 243.
$\frac{B   *}{TR}$	7.85	299-303	C. 85; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 243.
$\frac{B   *}{TR}$	7.15	300-303	C. 62; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 243.
$\frac{S   F}{ITR}$	9.30	303-304	C. 104; V. '18, pp. 182-3; L. p. 243.
$\frac{S   F}{IITR}$	11.75	303-304	C. 109; V. '18, pp. 182-3; L. p. 243.
$\frac{S   F}{IITR}$	8.10	303-304	—; V. '18, pp. 182-3; L. p. 243.
$\frac{S   F}{IITR}$	8.90	303-304	—; V. '18, pp. 182-3; L. p. 243.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	8.85-9.95	304-305	C. 104; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	8.40-10.70	304-305	C. 109; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	7.80-12.50	305-306	C. 114; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	8.50-11.30	305-306	C. 115; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	7.90-12.00	305-306	C. 116; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{ }{PTR}$	5.10-10.00	306	C. 181.
$\frac{*  }{ST}$	10.10	301-302?	C. 61.
$\frac{*  }{ST}$	9.30	302-303?	C. 61.
$\frac{  *}{ST}$	8.20, 10.35	303-304?	C. 264.











## CONSTANTIUS

No.	Obverse		Reverse
			TICINUM—Cont.
260	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
261–262	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
263–266	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
267–268	IMP CONSTANTIVS P F AVG		FIDES M I LITVM
269	IMP CONSTANTIVS P F AVG		FIDES M ILITVM
			ROMA
270	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
271–273	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
274	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
275	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
276	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
277–279	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
280–282	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
283–284	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
285	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
286	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
287	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN

## CONSTANTIUS

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{ }{PT\bullet}$	11.95	304-305?	C. 264.
$\frac{ }{ST\bullet}$	7.30, 9.95	304-305?	C. 264.
$\frac{ }{TT\bullet}$	9.50-11.90	304-305?	C. 264.
$\frac{  \bullet}{PT}$	8.00, 9.25	305-306	C. 41.
$\frac{  \bullet}{ST}$	11.30	305-306	C. 41.
$\frac{R }{T\star}$	8.75	296-?	C. 61; V. '25, p. 11.
$\frac{ }{T\star}$	7.30-11.05	?-305	C. 61; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{ }{T\star}$	11.30	?-305	C. 61; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{ }{T\star}$	8.65	?-305	C. 64; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{ }{T\bullet}$	9.70	?-305	C. 61; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{ }{T\bullet}$	7.75-9.30	303-305	C. 267; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{ }{T\bullet\bullet\bullet}$	9.00-11.90	303-305	C. 267; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{  \star}{RT}$	7.15, 9.00	303-305	C. 267; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{  \star}{RT}$	8.85	303-305	C. 263; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{  \star}{RT}$	7.30	303-305	C. 263; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{ }{R\sim T}$	9.70	303-305	C. 267; V. '25, p. 12.

















## CONSTANTIUS

No.	Obverse		Reverse
			ROMA—Cont.
288–289	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
290	IMP CONSTANTIVS P F AVG		SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
			ANTIOCHIA
291	FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
			CARTHAGO
292	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		FELIX ADVE NT AVGG NN
293	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS AVCTA KART
294–301	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART
302	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART
303	CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART

## CONSTANTIUS

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{ }{R-T}$	8.70, 9.50	303-305	C. 263; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{  \star}{R P}$	9.95	305-306	C. 261; see above, p. 9.
$\frac{  A}{A N T}$	7.95	304-305	C. 89; V. '17, p. 12.
$\frac{H  }{P K T}$	9.90	296	C. 35; E. p. 26, No. 19.
$\frac{ }{\Gamma}$	8.95	297-298 or 299	C. 270; E. pp. 27-28, No. 39.
$\frac{ }{\Gamma}$	8.95-11.30	297-304	C. 271; E. pp. 27-28, Nos. 35 and 43.
$\frac{ }{P}$	9.25	297-304	C. 271; E. pp. 27-28, No. 35.
$\frac{ }{\Delta}$	9.20	298 or 299-304	C. 271; E. pp. 27-28, No. 43 (hybrid).



















## GALERIUS

No.	Obverse		Reverse
			LONDINIUM
1-2	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
			LUGDUNUM
3	C VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C		GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
4	C VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
5	C VAL MAXIMIANVS CAES		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
6	C VAL MAXIMIANVS CAES		GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
7	C VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
8-9	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
10	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
11	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
12-17	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
18	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	 c	GENIO PO PVLI ROMANI (altar)
19	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	 p	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
20	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
21-22	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
23-25	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
26-27	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)

## GALERIUS

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{ }{\text{—}}$	8.90, 10.00	297–303	C. 57; L. pp. 242–3.
$\frac{ }{\text{—}}$	10.30	295–296	C. 74; L. p. 240.
$\frac{ }{\text{—}}$	10.45	295–296	C. 74; L. p. 240.
$\frac{ }{\text{LA}}$	9.40	295–296	C. 72; V. '17, p. 26; L. p. 241.
$\frac{ }{\text{LB}}$	8.45	295–296	C. 72; V. '17, p. 26; L. p. 241.
$\frac{ }{\text{LA}}$	9.30	295–296	C. 74; V. '17, p. 26; L. p. 241.
$\frac{\text{A} }{\text{LP}}$	8.55, 10.15	298–299	C. 56; V. '17, p. 27; L. p. 243.
$\frac{  \text{B}}{\text{PLG}}$	10.95	300–302?	C. 101; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{  \text{A}}{\text{PLG}}$	9.20	303–304	C. 92; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{  \text{B}}{\text{PLG}}$	6.40–12.35	303–304	C. 92; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{  \text{A}}{\text{PLG}}$	7.80	303–304	C. 93; V. '17, p. 27.
$\frac{  *}{\text{PLG}}$	10.25	304–305	C. 92 (var.); V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  *}{\text{PLG}}$	9.95	304–305	C. 93; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  *}{\text{PLG}}$	7.75, 9.75	305–306	C. (M.H.) 198; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  *}{\text{PLG}}$	9.55–11.40	305–306	C. (M.H.) 199; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  *}{\text{PLG}}$	8.70, 9.10	306–307	C. (M.H.) 212; V. '17, p. 28.

## GALERIUS


















No.	Obverse		Reverse
			LUGDUNUM—Cont.
28–33	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
34–38	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
39	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c	GENIO POP ROM
			TREVIRI
40	C VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI
41–42	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
43	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
44	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
45–47	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
48	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
49	MAXIMIANVS NOBIL C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
50	MAXIMIANVS NOBIL CAES	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
51	MAXIMIANVS NOBIL CAES	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
52	MAXIMIANVS NOBIL C draped	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
53	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 c	M SACRA AVGG ET CAESS NN
54	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 c	MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN
55	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
56	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
57–58	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

## GALERIUS

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{  N}{PLG}$	6.40-9.30	307	C. (M.H.) 212; V. '17, p. 29.
$\frac{  N}{PLG}$	6.80-7.10	307	C. (M.H.) 214; V. '17, p. 29.
$\frac{T   F}{PLG}$	9.05	307	C. (M.H.) 138; V. '17, p. 29.
$\frac{A  }{TR}$	9.95	295-296	C. 74; V. '18, p. 181; L. p. 241.
	8.50, 10.30	296	C. 56; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 241.
$\frac{B  }{TR}$	9.40	296	C. 56; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 241.
$\frac{A   \Gamma}{TR}$	12.00	296-297	C. 56; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{B   \Gamma}{TR}$	7.85-9.05	296-297	C. 56; V. '18, p. 182; L. pp. 242-3.
$\frac{B   *}{TR}$	9.50	299-301?	C. 56; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 243.
$\frac{B   *}{TR}$	9.85	299-301?	C. 64; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 243.
$\frac{B   \star}{TR}$	9.25	299-301?	C. 68; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 243.
$\frac{B   *}{TR}$	10.45	299-301?	—; V. '18, p. 182 and Pl. XIII, 3; L. p. 243.
$\frac{B   *}{TR}$	9.85	299-303	C. 65; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 243.
$\frac{  *}{ATR}$	9.45	303	C. 149; V. '18 p. 182; L. p. 243.
$\frac{  \star}{ATR}$	8.40	303	C. 144; V. '18, p. 182; L. p. 243.
$\frac{S   F}{ITR}$	9.45	303-304	C. 89; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{ITR}$	9.60	303-304	C. 89; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S   F}{ITR}$	7.40, 8.75	303-304	C. 88; V. '18, pp. 182-3.


















## GALERIUS

No.	Obverse	Reverse
		TREVIRI—Cont.
59-60	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
61	MAXIMIANVS NOBIL C	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
62-67	MAXIMIANVS NOBIL C	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
68-71	MAXIMIANVS NOBIL C	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
72	MAXIMIANVS NOBIL C draped	 GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
73	IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
74-83	IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
84-195	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
196	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
197-198	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c GENIO POP ROM
199-201	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG	 c GENIO POP ROM
		TICINUM
202-204	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
205	MAXIMIANVS NOB C	 SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
206-209	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
210-213	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
214	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
215	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES	 SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR

## GALERIUS

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{S F}{I TR}$	8.65, 9.85	303-304	C. 88; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S F}{I TR}$	10.80	303-304	C. 83; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S F}{I TR}$	9.35-12.40	303-304	C. 83; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S F}{PTR}$	8.00-9.25	304-305	C. 83; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S F}{PTR}$	11.65	304-305	C. 83; V. '18, pp. 182-3.
$\frac{S F}{PTR}$	9.90	305-307	C. (M.H.) 189; V. '18, p. 183.
$\frac{S F}{PTR}$	8.40-11.15	305-307	C. (M.H.) 191; V. '18, p. 183.
$\frac{S F}{PTR}$	8.20-12.15	305-307	C. (M.H.) 192; V. '18, p. 183.
$\frac{S A}{PTR}$	7.80	307	C. (M.H.) 192; V. '18, p. 184.
$\frac{S C}{PTR}$	6.25, 7.30	307	C. (M.H.) 138; V. '18, p. 184.
$\frac{S A}{PTR}$	7.25-8.15	307	C. (M.H.) 138; V. '18, p. 184.
$\frac{ }{TT^{\bullet}}$	9.60-11.80	303-304?	C. 188.
$\frac{ }{TT^{\bullet}}$	9.10	304-305?	Unpublished (see above, p. 9).
$\frac{ }{PT^{\bullet}}$	8.45-12.00	304-305?	C. 188.
$\frac{ }{ST^{\bullet}}$	8.85-10.40	304-305?	C. 188.
$\frac{ }{ST^{\bullet}}$	10.00	304-305?	C. 188.
$\frac{ }{TT^{\bullet}}$	8.45	304-305?	C. 188.

## GALERIUS

No.	Obverse		Reverse
TICINUM—Cont.			
216	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		FIDES M ILITVM
217-218	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		FIDES M I LITVM
219	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		FIDES M I LITVM
220	IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		FIDES M I LITVM
ROMA			
221	GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
222	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
223	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
224	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES		SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
AQUILEIA			
225	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES		SACRA MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR
CARTHAGO			
226	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES		FELIX ADV ENT AVGG NN
227	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES		FELIX ADVE NT AVGG NN
228-229	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES		FELIX AD V ENT AVGG NN
230	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS AVCTA KART
231-232	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART
233-235	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART

## GALERIUS

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{  \bullet}{PT}$	11.20	305-307	C. (M.H.) 114.
$\frac{  \bullet}{ST}$	9.35, 9.63	305-307	C. (M.H.) 114.
$\frac{ }{PT}$	10.00	307	C. (M.H.) 114.
$\frac{ }{ST}$	9.95	307	C. (M.H.) 114.
$\frac{R   S}{\Delta}$	$\frac{R  }{Z}$ 7.95	296-?	C. 75; V. '25, p. 11.
	7.65	296-?	C. 56; V. '25, p. 11.
$\frac{  \star}{RQ}$	$\frac{ }{Q \star}$ 10.25	?-305	C. 56; V. '25, p. 12.
	8.20	303-305	C. 189; V. '25, p. 12.
$\frac{ }{AQ \Gamma}$	12.20	303	C. 188; V. '23, p. 2
$\frac{ }{PKQ}$	9.70	296	—; E. p. 26, No. 20.
$\frac{I  }{PKQ}$	9.70	297	—; E. p. 26, No. 28.
$\frac{  I}{PK \Delta}$	9.10 9.25	297	—; E. p. 26, No. 32.
$\frac{ }{\Delta}$	9.45	297-298 or 299	C. 190; E. pp. 27-28, No. 40.
$\frac{ }{\Delta}$	7.45 8.65	297-298 or 299	C. 191; E. pp. 27-28, No. 36.
$\frac{ }{A}$	8.10-9.15	298 or 299-304	C. 191; E. p. 28, No. 44 (hybrid). <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hybrid complementary to Diocletian 375.

## GALERIUS

No.	Obverse		Reverse
			CARTHAGO—Cont.
236–237	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART
238–243	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART
244–245	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART
			[UNATTRIBUTED]
246	MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES		GENIO POPV LI ROMANI

## SEVERUS II

			LONDINIUM
1–3	SEVERVS NOBILIS C	p	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
4	SEVERVS NOBILISSIMVS C	p	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
5	SEVERVS NOBILISSIMVS CAES	p	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
			LUGDUNUM
6–8	SEVERVS NOB C	c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
9	FL VAL SEVERVS NOB C	c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
10	FL VAL SEVERVS NOB C	c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
11	FL VAL SEVERVS NOB C	c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI (altar)
			TREVIRI
12–72	FL VAL SEVERVS NOB C	c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
73–75	FL VAL SEVERVS NOB CAES	c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI








## GALERIUS

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{ }{B}$	8.55	298 or 299-304	C. 191; E. p. 28, No. 44 (hybrid)
$\frac{ }{\Delta}$	7.45-10.45	298 or 299-304	C. 191; E. p. 28, No. 44.
$\frac{I }{B}$	8.15, 9.20	305-306	C. (M.H.) 510; E. p. 30, No. 64.
$\frac{ }{O\star}$	7.20	ca. 300	C. 56 (see above, p. 11).






## SEVERUS II

$\frac{ }{ }$	8.70-11.10	305-306	C. 21.
$\frac{ }{ }$	10.15	305-306	C. 23.
$\frac{ }{ }$	8.90	305-306	C. 24.
$\frac{  \star}{PLG}$	8.35-10.60	305-306	C. 43; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  \star}{PLG}$	10.90	305-306	C. 44; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  \star}{PLG}$	11.40	305-306	C. 44; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  \star}{PLG}$	10.80	305-306	C. 44; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{S F}{PTR}$	7.00-12.20	305-306	C. 36; V. '18, p. 183.
$\frac{S F}{PTR}$	9.45-10.50	305-306	C. 39; V. '18, p. 183.

## SEVERUS II

No.	Obverse	Reverse
		TREVIRI—Cont.
76-138	FL VAL SEVERVS NOBIL C	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI or p
139-237	IMP SEVERVS P F AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
238-248	IMP SEVERVS PIVS AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
249-261	IMP SEVERVS PIVS F AVG	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
		TICINUM
262	SEVERVS NOB CAESAR	 VIRTVS AV GG ET CAESS NN
		ROMA
263	SEVERVS NOB CAES	 SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN
		CARTHAGO
264	FL VAL SEVERVS NOB CAES	 SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART

## MAXIMINUS DAZA

		LONDINIUM
1	MAXIMINVS NOBILIS C	 c GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
2	MAXIMINVS NOBILISSIMVS CAES	 p GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
3	GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB C	 c GENIO POP ROM
		LUGDUNUM
4	MAXIMINVS NOB C	 p GENIO POP VLI ROMANI and c (altar)
5	MAXIMINVS NOB C	 p GENIO POP VLI ROMANI and c (altar)

## SEVERUS II















Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	7.50-12.60	305-306	C 37; V. '18, p. 183.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	7.60-12.65	306-307	C. 40; V. '18, p. 183.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	8.55-10.90	306-307	Unpublished for Treviri (see above, p. 9).
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	8.45-12.20	306-307	Unpublished for Treviri (see above, p. 9).
$\frac{\bullet  }{PT}$	9.10	305-306	C. 70.
$\frac{  \star}{RT}$	9.70	305-306	C. 62.
$\frac{H  }{B}$	6.35	305-306	C. 64; E. p 30. No. 65 (hybrid complementary to E. note 14).

## MAXIMINUS DAZA

$\frac{ }{ }$	10.55	305-307	C. 75.
$\frac{ }{ }$	8.55	305-307	C. 79.
$\frac{ }{PLN}$	9.20	307	C. 56; cf. infra, Nos. 19, 290-291
$\frac{  \star}{PLG}$	9.45	305-306	C. 96; V. '17, p. 28
$\frac{  \star}{LG}$	9.00	305-306	C. 96; V. '17, p. 28

















## MAXIMINUS DAZA

No.	Obverse		Reverse
			LUGDUNUM—Cont.
6	GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOBIL C	 p	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
7	GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOBIL C	 p	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI (altar)
8	GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOBIL C	 p	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI and c (altar)
9-11	GAL VAL MAXIMINVS N C	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
12-14	GAL VAL MAXIMINVS N C	 p	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
15	GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB C	 p	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
16-18	GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
19	GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POP ROM
			TREVIRI
20-279	GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI or p
280-288	GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOBIL C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
289	GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
290-291	GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB C	 c	GENIO POP ROM
			TICINUM
292	MAXIMINVS NOBILI CAES	 p	GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
293	MAXIMINVS NOB CAESAR	 p	VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS
			NN

## MAXIMINUS DAZA

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{  *}{PLG}$	11.80	305-306	C. 101; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  *}{PLG}$	10.35	305-306	C. 101; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  *}{PLG}$	11.15	305-306	C. 101; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  N}{PLG}$	7.10-8.40	307	C. 99; V. '17, p. 29.
$\frac{  N}{PLG}$	7.70-8.60	307	C. 99; V. '17, p. 29.
$\frac{  N}{PLG}$	8.85	307	C. 100; V. '17, p. 29.
$\frac{  N}{PLG}$	6.60-9.90	307	C. 100; V. '17, p. 29.
$\frac{T   F}{PLG}$	7.50	307	C. 56; V. '17, p. 29.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	7.60-13.95	305-307	C. 92; V. '18, p. 183.
$\frac{S   F}{PTR}$	7.95-11.35	305-307	C. 94; V. '18, p. 183.
$\frac{S   A}{PTR}$	7.90	307	C. 92; V. '18, p. 184.
$\frac{S   C}{PTR}$	6.25, 6.55	307	C. 66; V. '18, p. 184.
$\frac{  \bullet}{TT}$	9.45	305-307	C. 77 (var.: <del>77</del> c).
$\frac{\bullet :}{TT}$	8.80	305-307	C. 191; cf. Severus 262.






## CONSTANTINE

No.	Obverse	Reverse
		LONDINIUM
1-2	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C	 p, GENIO POP ROM  c
		LUGDUNUM
3	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOBIL C	 c GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
4-21	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS N C	 c GENIO POP VLI ROMANI or p (altar)
22-24	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C	 c GENIO POP VLI ROMANI (altar)
25	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C	 p GENIO POP ROM
		TREVIRI
26-157	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C	 p GENIO POPV LI ROMANI or c
158-159	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB CAES	 p GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
160-172	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOBIL C	 p GENIO POPV LI ROMANI or c
173	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C	 p GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
174-177	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C	 p GENIO POPV LI ROMANI
178-237	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C	 p GENIO POP ROM or c
238	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS N C	 c MARTI PATRI CONSER- VATORI
239-286	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C	 c MARTI PATRI CONSER- VATORI

## CONSTANTINE

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{ }{\text{PLN}}$	7.00, 7.20	307	C. 202.
$\frac{ }{\text{PLG}}^*$	9.60	306-307	C. 230; V. '17, p. 28.
$\frac{  \text{N}}{\text{PLG}}$	6.65-9.80	307	C. 226; V. '17, p. 29.
$\frac{  \text{N}}{\text{PLG}}$	7.40-8.95	307	C. 227; V. '17, p. 29
$\frac{\text{T}   \text{F}}{\text{PLG}}$	9.20	307	C. 196; V. '17, p. 29.
$\frac{\text{S}   \text{F}}{\text{PTR}}$	7.40-12.15	306-307	C. 218.
$\frac{\text{S}   \text{F}}{\text{PTR}}$	9.50, 11.15	306-307	C. 219; V. '18, p. 183.
$\frac{\text{S}   \text{F}}{\text{PTR}}$	8.80-12.45	306-307	C. 220; V. '18, p. 183.
$\frac{\text{S}   \text{C}}{\text{PTR}}$	8.55	307	C. 218; V. '18, p. 184.
$\frac{\text{S}   \text{A}}{\text{PTR}}$	7.70-8.25	307	C. 218; V. '18, p. 184.
$\frac{\text{S}   \text{A}}{\text{PTR}}$	5.40-9.05	307	C. 196; V. '18, p. 184.
$\frac{\text{S}   \text{A}}{\text{PTR}}$	6.30	307	Unpublished (see above, p. 10)
$\frac{\text{S}   \text{A}}{\text{PTR}}$	4.90-8.45	307	C. 358; V. '18, p. 184.

## CONSTANTINE

No.	Obverse		Reverse
			TREVIRI—Cont.
287	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOBIL C	 P	MARTI PATRI CONSER- VATORI
288-320	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C	 C	MARTI PATRI PROPVG- NATORI
321-328	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C	 C	MARTI PATRI PROPVGNATORI
329-336	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C	 C	MARTI PATRI P ROPVGNATORI
337-383	FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C	 C	PRINCIPI IVVE NTVTIS

## MAXENTIUS

			CARTHAGO
1	M AVR MAXENTIVS NOB CAES		SALVIS AVGG ET CAESS FEL KART

## CONSTANTINE

Mint Marks	Weight (grams)	Date (A. D.)	References
$\frac{S   A}{PTR}$	7.40	307	Unpublished (see above, p. 10).
$\frac{S   A}{PTR}$	5.55-8.20	307	C. 366; V. '18, p. 184.
$\frac{S   A}{PTR}$	5.55-10.05	307	C. 366; V. '18, p. 184.
$\frac{S   A}{PTR}$	6.10-9.10	307	C. 366; V. '18, p. 184.
$\frac{S   A}{PTR}$	4.90-9.45	307	C. 442; V. '18, p. 184.

## MAXENTIUS

$\frac{H  }{\Delta}$	9.25	306	C. 103; E. p. 32, No. 78; S. p. 146.
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THE CHEMICAL COMPOSITION OF THE  
FOLLIS

## ANALYSIS OF NINE COINS FROM THE SELTZ HOARD

BY DAVID LEWIS

During the cataloging of the Seltz hoard, it became apparent that there was a wide variation in the weight of *folles* having approximately the same diameter. Furthermore, many of the coins were covered by what appeared to be a layer of white material. It was for the purpose of determining whether the variation in weight was due to differences in chemical composition and whether the coins were coated with silver, that samples were submitted for analysis. These samples consisted of small sectors cut from the coins in such a way that the identity of the remainder was not destroyed. The coins to be analyzed were selected by Dr. N. Lewis who also supervised the cutting of the sectors.

All the samples had undergone surface oxidation. Some were covered with patches of green corrosion products. The best preserved specimens were those with the "white" coating. On close examination this too proved to be green. The color could be seen readily when the surface was viewed obliquely. Chemical tests confirmed the conclusion that this was a thin layer of a copper salt. Hence, all the samples submitted for analysis were corroded, but to a varying extent. None of the coins showed any evidence of having been coated with silver.

For discs of bronze of equal size, variations in the composition of the alloy would produce relatively small changes in weight. The range of weights covered by the coins under consideration was far too large for the differences to be attributed to this cause alone. Visual comparison of the sectors, supported by micrometer measurements, showed that the weights varied because the thickness of the coins varied. The values for the cross sections of the samples lay between 1.37 mm. for the lightest coin, No. 536, weighing 4.70 g., and 2.86 mm. for the heaviest coin, No. 514, weighing 13.70 g. Many of the sectors were thicker at the center than at the rim, the largest difference being 0.25 mm. This change did not occur uniformly either in the individual specimens or in the group as a whole. Because of this and the lack of constancy in the diameter of most of the coins, it was not possible to determine whether the thickness was exactly proportional to the weight. These irregularities probably originated in the casting\* of the blanks, since the specimens showed little evidence of wear.

The preparation of the samples for analysis consisted in removing the surface layers by filing until bright metal was exposed. Since this would have resulted in too great a loss of metal for some of the smaller pieces, they were analyzed as received. The error thus introduced was small as the analysis

\* One specimen (Maximinus Daza 35) was submitted to metallographic examination. This examination showed that the coin was made in two separate steps, consisting of 1) the *casting* of a blank disc; and 2) the *striking* of the impression on this disc.



for each coin totalled close to 100%. The chief factor limiting the accuracy of the determinations was the small weight of metal available for the analysis. All specimens were analyzed for copper, tin, lead, iron, nickel and zinc.

### ANALYSES OF COINS FROM THE SELTZ HOARD

Inv. No.	Emperor	Date A. D.	Dia. mm.	Weight g.
9	Maximinus Daza	307	26/27	7.10
35	Maximinus Daza	305-7	26/29	8.45
571	Maximian	304-5?	25/27	9.15
594	Maximian	297-8 or 299	27/28	8.50
514	Maximian	305	27	13.70
535	Maximian	307	27	9.65
536	Maximian	307	25/26	4.70
14	Galerius	303-4	27/28	10.25
345	Constantine	307	23/26	5.75

Inv. No.	Mint	Cu %	Sn %	Pb %	Fe %	Ni %	Zn %
9	Lugdunum	87.98	4.00	6.16	1.38	0.05	—
35	Treviri	87.89	4.49	6.55	0.92	0.04	—
571	Ticinum	92.57	4.61	1.74	0.47	0.04	—
594	Carthago	91.85	3.63	4.46	0.10	0.04	—
514	Treviri	89.67	5.52	4.22	0.98	0.04	—
535	Treviri	86.25	6.41	7.27	0.13	0.03	—
536	Treviri	85.66	6.28	7.79	0.52	0.05	—
14	Lugdunum	85.80	5.33	8.55	—	0.04	—
345	Treviri	90.27	4.43	5.30	0.37	—	—

Although the data are far too few to permit of definitive conclusions, the results do present several interesting features. It will be noted that the two coins of Maximian, Nos. 535 and 536, minted at Trèves in 307, agree closely in composition but differ decidedly from the *folles* of Constantine, No. 345, issued by the same mint in the same year. The simplest explanation would be to attribute the larger differences to lack of sufficient control in reproducing the mintage alloy in successive melts. Small differences would be due to lack of homogeneity in the individual melts or to the effects of corrosion. Since numerical data on the variations in composition which may be considered "small" are lacking, the coins cannot be classified with certainty on this basis. However, it is probable that the two *folles* of Maximian were struck from discs cast from the same melt, different from that in which Constantine's originated. These considerations lend special interest to the two coins of Maximinus Daza, nos. 9 and 35, issued at Lyons and Trèves respectively. The concordance between the analyses of these coins may, of course, be due to the chance production at the two mints of practically identical alloys. It is possible, however, that the *folles* had a common origin in that the blanks from which they were struck came from a supply common to both mints, or were borrowed by one from the other (cf. above, note 12). It would follow that the date of issue of no. 35, given as 305-307, would thus be fixed more definitely as the year 307.

The kind and amount of the minor constituents present in an alloy are not merely a measure of purity but frequently serve as indicators of ore sources. Of the two reported in these analyses, iron and nickel, the latter is more important. Iron is too widely distributed in ores of all types and may be too easily introduced into the metals by faulty processing, to serve as an indicator. Since nickel is frequently found in copper ores, its presence in a bronze is usually attributed to this source. With the exception of the *folles* of Constantine, all the coins contained a small practically constant percentage of nickel. This may be taken as indication that they were produced from ores of the same provenience. The location of the mines cannot be determined at present since analyses of ores from only a few scattered Roman workings are available.<sup>1</sup>

The samples are notable for their high lead content and for the absence of zinc. The latter is sometimes found in coins of this period in amounts varying from traces to several percent.

The publication of these nine analyses constitutes a significant addition to the meagre data on bronze coins of the Roman provincial mints. The writer has been able to find previous analyses of only twenty-nine such coins.<sup>2</sup> Three of these were issued under emperors included in the present analyses. Schaeffer<sup>2c</sup> has reported on a coin of Constantine minted at Trèves between 309 and 313 A.D. which analyzed: Copper—90.6%, Tin—9.4%, Silver—trace. The value for tin probably includes all metals other than copper. Brazener's<sup>2d</sup> analyses

of Alexandrian coins contain an example of the mintage of Constantine and of Maximian. The compositions are:

	Copper	Tin	Lead	Iron
	%	%	%	%
Constantine (after 337 A.D.)	91.39	3.78	2.81	0.13
Maximian (ca. 305 A.D.)	96.95	0.87	1.09	0.20
	Nickel	Zinc	Silver	Antimony
	%	%	%	%
Constantine (after 337 A.D.)	0.10	0.06	1.01	—
Maximian (ca. 305 A.D.)	—	0.24	—	—

Coins of these two emperors, presumably minted at Rome, were examined by Bibra.<sup>3</sup> Although several agree closely in copper content with the Seltz coins, the amounts and the number of the other elements present differ decidedly.

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## PLATES





1.



4.



25.



526.



570.



590.



MAXIMIAN



# THE SELTZ HOARD



5.



22.



25.



67.



299.



322.



DIOCLETIAN

# PLATE II



327.



329.



343.



357.



366.



372.



DIOCLETIAN

# THE SELTZ HOARD



1.



8.



10.



15.



21.



46.



CONSTANTIUS

# PLATE III



65.



240.



262.



268.



292.



300.



CONSTANTIUS





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CONSTANTIUS

PLATE III



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262.



268.



292.



300.



CONSTANTIUS

# THE SELTZ HOARD



3.



11.



19.



55.



59.



61.



GALERIUS

PLATE IV



197.



208.



218.



225.

229.

230.



GALERIUS



## THE SELTZ HOARD



4.



50.



242.



256.



## SEVERUS II.



3.



18.



167.



287.



## CONSTANTINE

PLATE V



1.



4.



5.



274.



290.



MAXIMINUS



1.



MAXENTIVS



# THE SELTZ HOARD



1.



8.



10.



15.



21.



46.



CONSTANTIUS

# PLATE III



65.



240.



262.



268.



292.



300.



CONSTANTIUS

# THE SELTZ HOARD



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GALERIUS

PLATE IV



197.



208.



218.



225.



229.



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GALERIUS

## THE SELTZ HOARD



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## SEVERUS II.



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18.



167.



287.



## CONSTANTINE

PLATE V



1.



4.



5.



274.



290.



MAXIMINUS



1.



MAXENTIVS



# NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS



NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS  
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# THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD OF 'RADIATES,' 1931

By HAROLD MATTINGLY  
AND W. P. D. STEBBING



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
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1938

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# THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD OF 'RADIATES,' 1931

BY HAROLD MATTINGLY AND W. P. D. STEBBING

The hoard of 875 bronze coins, of varying sizes and weights, which we have here to describe, was found on September 1st, 1931, at a level within the Roman fort of Richborough, which has been dated to the same age as the walls. These were probably erected within the years A. D. 275 and 296.

The evidence of the finder is to the effect that the coins, though found in a mass, were unaccompanied by any trace of purse, box or other container and showed no sign of having been secreted in a hole in a wall or in thatch.<sup>1</sup> The corrosion of some of the coins and traces of wood-fibre (?) on them suggest possible burial in a box with iron bands.

The site on which the coins were found seems to have carried a hut, with a foundation course to its walls of large rough pieces of Folkstone stone. The coins lay near an angle of this foundation, as they might if buried under a hearth. The general level of the site has yielded pottery of late third to fourth century date.

We begin by a general summary of the hoard followed by more detailed descriptions:

## SUMMARY

### A. REGULAR.

GALLIENUS . . . . .	1
POSTUMUS . . . . .	1

A late 4th century hoard, found by Mr. Stebbing towards the centre of the fort in 1926, had been thus concealed.

## 2 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

VICTORINUS.....	2
CLAUDIUS II.....	1
TETRICUS I.....	7
TETRICUS II.....	4
ALLECTUS.....	1
CONSTANTIUS II (or CONSTANS).....	1
THEODOSIUS I.....	2
ARCADIUS.....	1
UNCERTAIN THEODOSIAN .....	1
	<hr/> 22

### B. IRREGULAR.\*

#### IMITATIONS OF KNOWN RADIATE TYPES.

Consecratio (eagle).....	5
Consecratio (altar).....	21
Felicitas .....	1
Fides Militum.....	10
Fortuna.....	2
Hilaritas.....	2
Invictus.....	21
Laetitia.....	6
Mars.....	1
Pax (branch and sceptre).....	26
Pax (uncertain).....	1
Pax (branch and cornucopiae).....	5
Pietas Augg. (priestly emblems) .....	40
Pietas (sacrificing).....	5
Providentia.....	2
Salus.....	10
Spes.....	22
Victory to r.....	1
Victory ('COMES AVGG.' type).....	6
Virtus.....	3
	<hr/> 190

\* From this point on, the arrangement is by reverse types.

## VARIOUS FIGURE TYPES.

Standing front ('male') . . . . .	17
Standing front ('female') . . . . .	6
Standing front, head r. ('male') . . . . .	9
Standing front, head r. ('female') . . . . .	4
Standing front, head l. ('male') . . . . .	8
Standing front, head l. ('female') . . . . .	4
Standing r. ('male') . . . . .	20
Standing r. ('female') . . . . .	14
Advancing r. ('male') . . . . .	21
Advancing r. ('female') . . . . .	3
Standing l. ('male') . . . . .	25
Standing l. ('female') . . . . .	119
Advancing l. ('male') . . . . .	9
Advancing l. ('female') . . . . .	4
Seated r. . . . .	1
	<hr/> 264

## VARIOUS.

Animals . . . . .	8
Birds . . . . .	3
Temples . . . . .	3
Miscellaneous . . . . .	4
Crosses, etc. . . . .	5
Patterns . . . . .	20
Notable obverses . . . . .	8
	<hr/> 51

## TWO FIGURE TYPES.

'FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO' model . . . . .	7
'GLORIA ROMANORVM' model . . . . .	12
Various—to r. . . . .	8
Various—to l. . . . .	3
Various to front . . . . .	6
	<hr/> 36
<i>Total of all classes . . . . .</i>	<i>563</i>

#### 4 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

There remain 312 coins, which were either illegible or, at least, seemed to add nothing to those here described, making up a grand total of 875.

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The coins, when found, were on the whole in very fair condition. They were mainly loose, but, in a few cases, were stuck together in two's and three's. The incrustation varied from a soft, earthy covering to a hard nodular oxide of iron, either in patches or covering the whole surface. In some cases both faces of the coin had been corroded; in others, there were suggestions of possible burning by fire. All, without exception, were struck, not cast. The flans vary in thickness from paper-like flakes to an average 'radiate' size; they are often irregular in shape and occasionally have one or more projecting knobs of metal on the edge. Extensive clipping has in a few cases produced something like a triangular shape. The die is sometimes correctly adjusted to the flan, sometimes it fails to find room on it. Apart from this occasional failure of adjustment, the striking was fairly well done. In some cases there is a border of dots, that may degenerate into various arrangements of strokes, in others, no border at all. The coins vary in size from .35 to .85 inches (9 to 22 mm); in weight, from 4.8 gr. to 69.5 gr. (.31-4.5 gm).

An interesting feature of the hoard is the occurrence of die-identities, either on both sides or one only. The same obverse and reverse dies occur on Nos. 104 and 105; 265 and 266; 281, 282 and 292; 307

and 308; 407 and 412; 413 and 414A; 477, 508 and 509; 478 and 479: the same obverse dies occur on Nos. 414 and 414A; the same reverse dies on Nos. 178 and 179; Nos. 307, 308 and 309; 537 and 538. These identities are not numerous enough to suggest that our mass of coinage had come direct from a single mint; they are sufficiently numerous to convince us that we are not dealing with a chance mass of coin adrift on the market. We shall consider later what this may mean.

The great majority of the coins bear neither name of Emperor nor features to identify one; but not infrequent exceptions occur and we are reminded at one point or another, by legend or portrait, of Gallienus, (Nos. 163, 172), Claudius II, (Nos. 23 ff, 166, 184, 346), Quintillus (Nos. 160, 316, 453), Tacitus, (Nos. 206, 359), Probus, (Nos. 245, 465, 492, 522, 550), Postumus, (Nos. 69, 298, 350, 396, 406, 553), Victorinus, (Nos. 187, 237, 357, 360), Carausius, (No. 451). Far commonest are the suggestions of Tetricus I (Nos. 51, 53, 85, 114, 293, 412, 430, 461, etc.) and of Tetricus II, with youthful features, (Nos. 77, 102, 163, 312, 401, 421, etc.). Examples of head to left occur, but they are even rarer than in the original series. The range of the imitation, then, is over the period of extreme debasement, from circa A. D. 258 to 274 and, less intensively, over the radiates of the reform of Aurelian, circa A. D. 274-296. There is more diversity, then, in the obverses than is usual in hoards of 'barbarous radiates.' In some cases, there is something in-



## 6 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

definably alien in the look of the head; hardly anything but the radiation reminds us of a Roman coin.

The reverse types are, in some cases, copied with considerable fidelity from 3rd century models; but, even where the original type is preserved, the legend is seldom clear. Exceptions that prove the rule may be seen in *CONSECRATIO* (Nos. 24 ff), *HILARITAS* (No. 62), *PAX* (Nos. 99, 119, 195), *SPES* (Nos. 181, 198), *VIRTUS* (No. 173). A remarkable feature of the reverse types is that many of them produce variations on the standing figures of their 3rd century originals, so marked as to appear deliberate rather than accidental or careless. Occasionally, the direction of the original type is reversed, as, for example, *SOL INVICTUS* to right, instead of to left (Nos. 83 ff). In so far as the reverses copy definite originals, the divergence from the normal may be studied under our careful classification, assisted by the Plates. The large class of coins not to be associated with specific originals has been arranged in formal groups, 'standing front,' 'right' or 'left,' 'figures undraped' or 'draped.' It may ultimately be possible, with the aid of further hoards, to trace the original of many types at present mysterious. That there should be mistakes in our descriptions of obscure and hitherto unknown types is inevitable. May the scholar of the future who corrects such errors judge us not too unkindly!

The most notable feature of our hoard remains still to be mentioned. It includes (1) a series of coins (Nos. 528–546) showing knowledge of originals

of the fourth century,—c. A. D. 348–361 and c. A. D. 364–375; (2) another series (Nos. 547–563) showing types, often with more than one figure, of so original a character that they cannot be traced to any Roman model of the third century or later. Both series, though relatively small in the bulk of the hoard, contain a sufficient number of coins to assure us that it is no case of mere accident. Of series (1) we shall have to speak more fully later. Of series (2) we may say at once that it supplies full evidence that the makers of our coins were not copyists only,—that they actually had new ideas of their own, which they tried, with varying success, to express in the language of reverse types. Some of the two-figure types seem to aim at expressing scenes of combat or, possibly, in some cases, of ritual, which, however obscure to us, yet speak a language of their own. Of the other types of the group, some may well be derived ultimately from radiate models. The 'Cross with pellets,' for example, might arise either from the 'Altar' of Divus Claudius or from a completely formalized and degraded standing figure, such as Spes. But, in such cases, even if imitation be present, it has reached the point of new creation; the Roman types only serve as raw material for new.

We are now in a position to attack the problems that constitute the main interest of our hoard—the date at which it was buried and the conditions at Rutupiae which its burial would seem to imply. Our knowledge is still imperfect, a mere ray of light in the darkness, but, even so, its disclosures are

## 8 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

exciting enough. As our hoard belongs, formally, to the large and much discussed class of 'barbarous radiates,' a glance at the history of these curious finds will be of value.

The 'barbarous radiates' have long been a battlefield of conflicting creeds. The idea that they might represent in some way or other the coinage of the Dark Age in Britain—the fifth to sixth century A. D.—was natural enough and seems to have been widely held in the early and mid-nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> M. Adrien Blanchet, in a notable paper, repudiated the idea, as far as it affected Gaul, and declared that imitations of radiate coins, small as well as large, belonged to approximately the same age as the originals.<sup>3</sup> His arguments, based on some evidence of hoards and ably developed, have found general acceptance in France. In our island the fortunes of war have been more varied and successes have been recorded from time to time by both schools—early and late daters.<sup>4</sup> In a paper, written by the late Mrs. Mortimer Wheeler and now published after her

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Thomas Wright, 'On Anglo-Saxon Antiquities, with a particular reference to the Faussett Collection,' 1854; C. Roach Smith, *Arch. Cant.* Vol. xviii, (1889) p. 72, 'Roman Coins found at Richborough' where he recants his previous belief in a late date for the imitations.

<sup>3</sup> 'Les monnaies barbares aux noms et types des deux Tetricus' (Congrès intern. de Num., Bruxelles, 1910).

<sup>4</sup> For the general question, cf. C. H. V. Sutherland in the *Num. Chron.* (International Numismatic Congress Volume, 1938): the same writer on 'The Hayle Hoard of Radiate Minimi' (*Num. Chron.* 1936, pp. 202 ff.), 'The Whitchurch Hoard of Radiate Minimi' (*ibid.* 1935, pp. 16 ff.); H. Mattingly, 'Three Hoards of Barbarous Roman Coins,' *ibid.* 1934, pp. 255 ff.; R. G. Collingwood 'Archaeology of Roman Britain,' 1930, p. 199.

death by Mr. O'Neil,<sup>5</sup> we have a description of a hoard of radiate imitations, found in the theatre at St. Albans. The coins are almost all very small, descending to 'minim'<sup>6</sup> size. They vary considerably from their models, and they are almost, if not completely, unmixed with regular radiate coinage. The hoard, then, is one which many numismatists, on general principles,<sup>7</sup> would have wished to place very late. The archaeological evidence, however, is definitely against this view. All competent archaeologists who have tested the evidence agree that the hoard could not have been buried much later than A. D. 300, and, from the numismatic side, it must be admitted that a close examination of details reveals nothing which requires a later date. We must admit, then, an important gain by the 'early' school, most appropriately won by one who was always a gallant fighter on that side. That there is still another view of the case, the present hoard will show. There is no likelihood of an immediate decision—perhaps of any decision—in favour of either extreme view. Radiate coins may have been imitated both early and late. If, in both cases, the imitations were the work of non-Roman, native artists, they might well have a general kinship of kind, which would tend to blur the distinctions of date. For the time being, we must check each hoard on its merits, accumulate

<sup>5</sup> Num. Chron. 1937, pp. 211 ff.

<sup>6</sup> A convenient, if vague, description of tiny imitations, very much smaller than any originals.

<sup>7</sup> The contemporary imitations naturally would be expected to mix freely with originals.

evidence and, above all, treasure our exceptions—the points that do not harmonize with our own favourite theories.

The Richborough hoard of 1931 is beyond all question late. We leave out of account for the moment the Theodosian copper that was found with or near it. Even if we should end by believing that it was actually part of the hoard, there is at least a possibility that it was not, and the argument will be surer without it. The decisive evidence lies in the radiate coinage itself. Radiate heads, not to be distinguished from the general run of heads in the hoard, are combined in a number of cases with reverses that betray knowledge of fourth century types,—‘Fel. Temp. Reparatio,’ ‘Warrior driving spear at fallen horseman,’ Constantius II, etc., c. A. D. 348 and 361, and ‘Gloria Romanorum,’ ‘Emperor dragging captive right,’ Valentinian I and colleagues, c. A. D. 364–375. These reverses are, on the whole, quite remarkably like the fourth-century models, and there are no third-century models to which they could, with any reason, alternatively be traced. Here, then, we have the evidence, which has hitherto been lacking, of the ‘muling’ of radiate obverses with later reverses.<sup>8</sup> The date of the later of the two reverses thus imitated, ‘Gloria Romanorum,’ takes us down to the very edge of the Theodosian age. This evidence is strong enough to stand by itself. If support were needed, we might

<sup>8</sup> Imitations of radiates and diademed heads are, as a rule, quite distinct in hoards: for possible exceptions, cf. H. Mattingly, *Num. Chron.* 1934, pp. 255 ff.

point to the unusual freedom with which new types are here created from the limited stock of standing or walking figures in the third-century originals and, particularly, to a range of reverse types, already mentioned, that seems to exceed the bounds of 3rd century possibilities—the 'Cross' type and certain two-figure types in particular. As we have said, the die-cutter seems not so much to have been copying as creating new types. Two-figure types in the third century, except for a short period after Aurelian, were rare in the Western mints; as a matter of fact, they do not seem to have supplied models for our hoard.

The earliest possible date, then, for the burial of our hoard is circa A. D. 380–390. But this is only a theoretical possibility. Even without committing ourselves to any general theory of coin-drift, we must obviously allow some time to elapse for an imperial coin to become familiar enough to be imitated in an outlying province. Further, we know from the numerous site-finds of Richborough, that the actual circulation in the fort in the Theodosian age was the small bronze of Theodosius I and his colleagues, and of his predecessors. It is certainly possible that the masses of Theodosian coin did not reach Richborough till nearly the end of the fourth century; it is more than possible—a moral certainty—that they continued to accumulate there well into the fifth century.<sup>9</sup> There is no room,

<sup>9</sup> Even when the supplies from Gaul and Italy dried up, what was to prevent the Roman-Britons from extending the life of their Theodosian coinage by skilful, official imitation? There is, as yet,

then, at Richborough, for a coinage of the extraordinarily irregular character of our hoard for some long years after the death of Theodosius the Great.

Before we take our next step, we shall find it useful to ask ourselves what the issue of 'barbarous' imitations may mean. We have little direct evidence and must rely on careful and sober deduction from general probabilities. Two general classes might be distinguished:

(1) Imitations inside the Empire.

These might be in the nature of tokens, issued locally (in municipalities or camps) to supplement supplies of imperial money,—tolerated, perhaps, if not approved, by authority. The rebellion of a pretender might, in theory, give rise to some kind of 'barbarian imitation'; but, as a matter of fact, hardly a single actual example can be quoted.<sup>10</sup>

(2) Issues outside the Empire.

These would naturally be made by peoples, bordering on the Empire and familiar with its money, who, needing an increase of supplies and, perhaps, desiring a coinage of their own, are yet compelled to begin with Roman models and betray all manner of misunderstanding both of types and legends. Imitation of models, obsolete or obsolescent in the

---

no proof that they did so, but the possibility seems to be worth consideration.

<sup>10</sup> It is possible that the *Bagaudae* in Gaul, under *Aeliamus* and *Amandus*, A. D. 285–286, struck rude imitations of the Gallic radiates.

Empire, would be more properly assigned to this than to the first class.

Between classes (1) and (2) would fall issues of communities, which, while loyal in intention, were temporarily or more permanently detached from the Empire.

We can now return to the problems of our hoard with some general principles to guide us. Rutupiae was one of the last places—possibly the very last place—in Britain to be held officially by Rome. The Romano-British population, then, might confidently be expected to hold to its latest Roman—the Theodosian bronze—currency: the site-finds of the Fort prove that it actually did so. Only after the Roman troops and civil servants had departed can we imagine an abandonment of the imperial coinage and a return to obsolescent models. Such a relapse demands something more than the mere withdrawal of the Romans to explain it—it implies the intrusion of other, less civilized, elements in their place. Even the broken history of our island in the fifth century has preserved the essential fact for us here. What we have before us is the coinage of Hengist and Horsa with their Jutes, when Vortigern invited them to aid him against Picts and Scots and gave them the island of Thanet for their hire (A. D. 449).<sup>11</sup>

Can we hazard a guess at the reason for the ap-

<sup>11</sup> If coinage of this class really belongs to the Anglo-Saxon and Jutish invaders, it may easily be extensive and of more than one class. On Plate X, Appendix I, we add some examples from the British Museum of what may be late radiate imitations.



pearance of third-century models—almost to the exclusion of fourth-century models—in this new coinage? Perhaps an observation long since made and developed by C. F. Keary<sup>12</sup> may give us the light we need. He noticed that the silver of Carausius had exercised a remarkably strong influence on the types of sceattas and explained it on the theory that, as *comes littoris Saxonici* and, afterwards, as Emperor by the grace of Saxons and other rebels, Carausius had circulated his money freely on both sides of the Channel. Developing this line of thought, we may suggest that, for about the last quarter of the third century, including the usurpations of Carausius and Allectus, the Western coasts of the Empire were exposed to Saxon raiders, who, amid the rest of their booty, must have carried off masses of radiate coinage. Constantius Chlorus, when he brought Britain back to the 'eternal light' of Rome, reorganized the coast defences and barred the door against the pirate. For many a long year the Saxon was held at bay. The Saxons, then, might well be familiar with the coinage of the late third century, as they never were with that of the fourth, might continue to use and imitate it in their homes in the Low Countries, and, finally, when they returned to Britain, as settlers not marauders, in the fifth century, might choose to copy it rather than the later Roman models. If this is the case, there should be some evidence of hoards. We cannot at the moment check them satisfactorily.

<sup>12</sup> The Coinages of Western Europe, London, 1879, especially pp. 103 ff.

The theory that imitations of radiate coins in the fifth century belong to the Saxons, while imitations of diademed may belong rather to the Roman-Britons, might clearly be pushed to absurd extremes. Mr. Sutherland, has already suggested some of the difficulties that might be involved. We can hardly imagine the Roman-Briton saying to himself "I am Roman: diademed for me," while the Saxon retorts "I am Saxon: I prefer radiates." But, we may be very near actual historical truth if we make our theory narrower and more precise and say that the surviving urban communities in Britain of the fifth century clung to Theodosian coinage, and, after that, to imitations of the early fourth-century coinage, but that the recrudescence of radiate imitations was due either to Saxon invaders or to Britons, who abandoned city-life and went 'native' again. Whether the radiate coinage was felt to be pagan, as the diademed was not, is best left undecided for the moment. Of the mint or mints of our coins we know nothing. The occurrence of several die-identities certainly suggest a mint or mints not far remote from the place of finding. Of the value represented by the coins we again know nothing. We might perhaps find in our hoard an 'average' coin, measuring about .7 (19 mm) and weighing circa 20 gr. (1.3 gm), and suppose that it represented a standard value. But some few pieces, of greater module and weight, would represent higher values, the 'minims,' presumably, a lower.

The art of our hoard, if it may bear that name at

all, is of a very humble order, but it is not entirely without shape or character of its own. If it cannot effectively be compared with the nobler products, in gold and enamel, of native British or Jutish artists, it finds frequent parallels in the series of sceattas and of Merovingian silver. This point is developed for us in a short Appendix (II), by Mr. Derek Allen. The bearing of these parallels on the question of date is obvious. They suggest a much longer run, and perhaps a later origin, for our imitations than we should at first have been inclined to assign to them.

The Richborough hoard of 1931 already stimulates, if it does not completely satisfy, our curiosity. It may have a permanent place in our historical study if it directs scholars to a place where they may hopefully search for some of the still buried secrets of Britain's Dark Age. "The imitation of Roman types by the moneyers of the Anglo-Saxon sceattas will no longer appear as a rather curious return to the past: it will simply be the continuation of a process that had been continuous."<sup>13</sup>

The authors wish to thank Miss Anne Robertson of Glasgow most warmly for invaluable assistance with the descriptions.

A closer description of the 563 classified coins follows. The normal obverse is to be taken as a radiate head to r., without legend; anything beyond this is noted in the 'obverse' column. The reverse descriptions have given us much trouble, as we

<sup>13</sup> H. Mattingly and W. P. D. Stebbing, Paper to the International Archaeological Congress, Aug. 1932.

wished to describe as fully as possible what was to be seen, and yet often could not determine exactly what the die-cutter meant. We have had to resort to frequent marks of interrogation: 'holding ? in r. hand,' for example, means 'holding uncertain object.' In the case of some coins of special interest and difficulty, drawings are added (cf. p. 108).

## A. COINS OF REGULAR MINTAGE

## 1. GALLIENUS.

*Obv.* [GALL]IENV[S] [AVG] Head radiate r.

*Rev.* D[IANA]E] CON[S AVG] Stag walking l.  $\frac{1}{X}$   
Mattingly and Sydenham, V i, p. 146, No. 179; Cohen 158.

## 2. POSTUMUS.

*Obv.* [IMP C POSTVMVS P F AVG] Bust radiate and draped r.

*Rev.* PAX AVG Pax standing l. holding branch and vertical sceptre.  
M. & S., V ii, p. 363, No. 318; Cp. C. 215.

## 3. VICTORINUS.

*Obv.* IMP C V[ICTORINVS P F AVG] Bust radiate and draped r.

*Rev.* PROV[IDENTIA AVG] Providentia standing l. holding baton and cornucopiae; at foot, globe.  
M. & S., V ii, p. 392, No. 61; C. 101.

## 4. VICTORINUS.

*Obv.* [IMP VIC]TORINVS [P F AVG] Head or bust radiate r., lower part off flan.

*Rev.* Illegible.

## 5. CLAUDIUS II.

*Obv.* [IMP CLAVDIVS AVG] Bust radiate r.

*Rev.* [PAX] AVG Pax standing l. holding branch and vertical sceptre.  
M. & S., V i, p. 217, No. 80; C. 201.

## 6. TETRICUS I.

*Obv.* IMP [C TETRICV]S P F AVG Bust radiate and draped r.

*Rev.* HILARITAS AVGG Hilaritas standing l. holding palm and cornucopiae.  
M. & S., V ii, p. 408, No. 79; C. 55.

## 7. TETRICUS I.

*Obv.* IM[P C TETRICVS P F AVG] Bust radiate and cuirassed r.

*Rev.* [HILAR]ITAS AVGG Hilaritas standing l. holding palm and cornucopiae.  
M. & S., V ii, p. 408, No. 79; C. 55.

## 8. TETRICUS I.

*Obv.* [IMP C TET]RICVS P F AVG Bust radiate and draped r.

*Rev.* [LAETITIA AVG] Laetitia standing l., holding wreath and anchor. Small flan.  
M. & S., V ii, p. 408, Nos. 87ff; C. 71ff.

## 9. TETRICUS I.

*Obv.* IMP C TETRICVS P F AVG Bust radiate and draped r.

*Rev.* PAX AVG Pax standing l., holding branch and vertical sceptre.  
M. & S., 100; C. 95.

## 10. TETRICUS I.

*Obv.* IMP C TETRICVS [P F AVG] Bust radiate and draped r.

*Rev.* [PAX] AVG Pax standing l., holding branch and vertical sceptre.  
M. & S., V ii, p. 409, No. 100; C. 95.

## 11. TETRICUS I.

*Obv.* [IMP C TET]RICVS P F [AVG] Bust radiate and draped r.

*Rev.* [PAX AV]GG Pax standing l., holding branch and vertical sceptre.  
M. & S., V ii, p. 409, No. 100; C. 95.

## 12. TETRICUS I.

*Obv.* [IMP C TET]RICVS P F AVG Bust radiate r. Double-struck.

*Rev.* Uncertain.

## 20 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

### 13. TETRICUS II.

*Obv.* [C PIV ESV TETRI]CVS CAES Bust radiate and draped r.

*Rev.* PA[X AVG] Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre.

M. & S., V ii, p. 422, No. 248; C. 34.

### 14. TETRICUS II.

*Obv.* [C] PIV TETRICVS [P] A[VG] Bust radiate and draped r.

*Rev.* [PAX] AVG Pax standing l., holding branch and transverse sceptre.

Not in M. & S. or C.

### 15. TETRICUS II.

*Obv.* [C P E] TETRICVS [CAES] Bust radiate and draped r.

*Rev.* Illegible.

### 16. TETRICUS II.

*Obv.* Legend off flan. Bust radiate and draped r.

*Rev.* Illegible.

### 17. ALLECTUS.

*Obv.* [IMP] C ALLECTVS P F AVG Bust radiate, draped and cuirassed r.

*Rev.* [FI]DES MILITVM Fides standing l. holding two standards.  $\frac{S | P}{C}$

M. & S., V ii, p. 565, No. 69; C. 8.

### 18. CONSTANTIUS II or CONSTANS.<sup>14</sup>

*Obv.* CONST . . . Bust diademed and draped r.

*Rev.* [FEL TEMP REPARATIO] Legionary l., spearing fallen horseman.  $\frac{|}{\dots CON}$

<sup>14</sup> For the relation of Nos. 18–22 to this hoard, see p. 10.

## 19. THEODOSIUS.

*Obv.* D N [THEODO]SIVS P F AVG Bust diademed and draped r.

*Rev.* [SALVS REIPVBLICAE] Victory advancing l., dragging captive: ✱ l. (obliterated)  
Mint-mark illegible.

## 20. THEODOSIUS.

*Obv.* [D N THEODO]SIVS P F AVG Bust diademed and draped r.

*Rev.* [VICTOR]IA AV[GGG] Victory advancing l. holding wreath and palm. Mint-mark illegible.

## 21. ARCADIUS.

*Obv.* D N ARCAD[IVS] P F AVG Bust diademed and draped r.

*Rev.* VICTORIA [AVGGG] Victory advancing l. holding wreath and palm. Mint-mark illegible.

## 22. HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS.

*Obv.* Legend illegible. Bust diademed and draped r.

*Rev.* [VICTOR]IA AVGGG. Victory advancing l. holding wreath and palm. Mint-mark illegible.



## 22 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

### B. COINS OF IRREGULAR MINTAGE

**Prototype: Claudius II. Consecration Issue.**

*Obv.* DIVO CLAVDIO

---

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
23	I, 1	.6	28.8 (1.87)	.... DIV
24		.6	15.5 (1.0)	
25		.55	17.6 (1.14)	DIVO ...
26		.55	14.9 (.97)	D . . . . O
27		.55	21.6 (1.4)	No legend. Barbarous small head. Traces of border of dots.

---

**Prototype: Claudius II. Consecration Issue.**

*Obv.* DIVO CLAVDIO

---

28		.6	16.3 (1.06)	. . . VDIO
29		.5	14.2 (.92)	
30		.5	18.2 (1.18)	

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As above

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31		.6	22.5 (1.46)	.... VTV ...
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## a) COPYING RECOGNIZABLE MODELS

M. &amp; S., V ii, p. 234, No. 266; C. 41 ff.

*Rev.* CONSECRATIO Eagle with head r. or l.

---

<i>No.</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
23	Eagle standing front, head r.
24	Same type. CONSECRATIO
25	Same type. CONSE....
26	Same type . . SECRA . . .
27	Eagle standing front, head l.

---

M. &amp; S., V i, p. 233, No. 261f; C. 50 ff.

*Rev.* CONSECRATIO Square altar.

---

28	Plain altar with flames . . . . RATI . . .
29	Same type. . . ATIO
30	Plain altar with double sides and top. .. O . . . .

---

but Stylised.

---

31	Double-topped altar with four panels, each containing pellet. . . . V . . . TV...
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---

24 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
32		.55	15.5 (1.0)	
33	I, 2	.55	16.4 (1.06)	
34		.6	19.9 (1.29)	
35	I, 3	.6	19.5 (1.26)	
36		.65	12.8 (.83)	Almost smooth.
37		.6	21.4 (1.39)	. . . CLA . . .
38	I, 4	.5	21.4 (1.39)	Head very barbarous.
39		.5	16.7 (1.08)	Bust draped (?). ... or vΔ ....
40		.55	9.1 (.59)	Small bust.
41		.6	20.0 (1.30)	Good workmanship. DIV . . . . DIO.
42	I, 5	.6	24.1 (1.56)	Very barbarous. Traces of letters.
43		.55	22.0 (1.42)	Traces of letters.
<hr/>				
				<i>Rev. Altar</i>
44	I, 6	.55	14.3 (.93)	Large head, neck off flan.
<hr/>				
				<i>Rev. Altar with</i>
45	I, 7	.55	26.5 (1.72)	Barbarous head with thin neck ending in row of dots. . . . PNOC

- |            |                |
|------------|----------------|
| <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i> |
|------------|----------------|
- 32 Altar with flames and palmettes, and four panels each containing pellet. CON . . .
  - 33 Altar with flames and panel, containing five pellets.
  - 34 Altar with stylised flames, divided horizontally into two panels containing pellets. . . ECRATI . . .
  - 35 Double-sided altar with five pellets. Double-struck.
  - 36 Plain altar with panel. Flan thin and spread.
  - 37 Plain altar with four panels. . . . CRATIO.
  - 38 Small plain altar with panel.
  - 39 Small altar with flames, roughly divided into six (?) panels.
  - 40 Altar with flames and crescent in panel.
  - 41 Altar with pellet and circle in panel. Nearly smooth.
  - 42 Altar with lines, extended to end in arrows, and small panel containing pellet.
  - 43 Square altar (?), containing irregular lines.

---

and Figure.

---

- 44 Lower part of male figure 1. (?) To r., high in field, small altar with horizontal lines. Traces of border of dots.
- 

Concave Sides.

---

- 45 Altar with incurved sides, three stylised flames and round feet. Border of dots. Flan has projecting tongue. S MI

# 26 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
46	I, 8	.75	27. (1.75)	Barbarous draped bust. . . . VS P H A VC
47		.75	12.0 (.78)	. . . APN D O
48	I, 9	.55	17.5 (1.13)	Line border.

---

**Prototype: Probus.** *Rev.* FELICITAS AVG  
Felicitas standing front, head l.,

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49		.5	21.4 (1.39)	Barbarous head, neck ending in straight line. Border of dots.
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**Prototype: Tetricus I.** *Rev.* FIDES MILITVM  
Fides standing l.,

---

## *A. Reverse close to prototype.*

50	I, 10	.6	17.0 (1.1)	
51		.65	23.5 (1.52)	. . . TI TRI . . .
52		.65	19.9 (1.29)	

## *B. Main details preserved, but odd style.*

53	I, 11	.6	11.6 (.75)	. . . TETR I . . .
54		.45	8.2 (.53)	. . . A II . . .
55		.5	14.5 (.94)	Draped.

*No.**Reverse*

- 46 Altar with incurved sides, from which rise two arrows and between them flames. Pellet in centre. Traces of letters.
- 47 Altar with incurved sides, round feet, raised panel and flames on l. . . . U . . . . MI
- 48 Altar with incurved sides. Two pellets and stylised flames all around. Border of dots and lines.

(cp. Probus: M. & S., V ii, p. 55, No. 355 ff.)

holding caduceus and cornucopiae.

- 49 Felicitas standing front, head l., holding caduceus and cornucopiae.

M. & S. (Webb) V ii, p. 407, Nos. 68 ff.; C. 37 ff.

holding two standards.

- 50 Fides standing l., holding standard in either hand.  
MILI . . .
- 51 Same type (standard in r. hand, almost off flan).  
. . . ΓΛΦ . . .
- 52 Same type (standard in l. hand, almost off flan).
- 53 Fides, standing l., holding standard in either hand . . . v m (Fides is a short squat figure).
- 54 Same type (standards held close to sides).
- 55 Same type (standard in r. hand off flan: Fides is very broad in the chest).

28 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

*C. Derivation from prototype uncertain.*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
56	I, 12	.7	31.9 (2.07)	. . . AVDIVS . . . Features like those of Claudius II.
57	I, 13	.6	26.3 (1.7)	Draped (?)
58	I, 14	.6	22.2 (1.44)	. . . T I V . . .
59		.55	11.0 (.71)	. . . T . . . V . . .

---

**Prototype: Tetricus I.**

Fortuna standing l., holding rudder

*Rev.* FORTVNA AVG (Not

---

60		.6	19.1 (1.24)	. . . A . . . V . . .
61		.55	12.0 (.78)	. . . V . . .

---

**Prototype: Tetricus I.**

*Rev.* HILARITAS AVGG

Hilaritas standing l., holding

---

62	I, 15	.7	21.7 (1.41)	Draped . . . P TVCS . . .
63		.6	23.6 (1.53)	Draped . . . AVG

- |            |                |
|------------|----------------|
| <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i> |
|------------|----------------|
- 56 Female figure, draped, standing l., holding vertical trident (? broken at top) in r. hand and vertical sceptre (?) in l. C, low, left, in field.
- 57 Figure, undraped (?), radiate (?), advancing l., holding vertical object (sceptre ?) in either hand . . . v . . .
- 58 Male figure, draped to knees, standing l., holding vertical spear in r. hand and vertical sceptre in l.
- 59 Female figure, draped, standing l., holding vertical object (sceptre or standard ?) in either hand.

M. & S., V ii, p. 407, No. 73; C. 44.—Tetricus I. in r. hand and cornucopiae in l. common in this group).

- 60 Fortuna standing l., holding rudder in r. hand and cornucopiae in l. ...ΑΙΛ...
- 61 Same type. . . . C . . .

M. & S., V i, p. 408, Nos. 79 ff; C. 53 ff. long palm and cornucopiae.

- 62 Hilaritas standing l., holding long palm in r. hand and cornucopiae in l. . . . ILARI . . .
- 63 Same type. VI A . . .



# 30 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

Prototype: Victorinus.

Rev. INVICTVS

Sol walking l., r. hand raised,

## A. Main type: no star.

No.	Plate	Size	Wt.	Obverse
64	II, 1	.55	12.6 (.82)	. . . IT RICVSI
65		.55	19.6 (1.27)	Draped. Curiously faint lines . . . IN . . .
66		.6	18.3 (1.19)	Draped. Overstruck (?)
67		.6	12.7 (.8)	Curious loose drawing.
68		.6	22.2 (1.44)	. . . I . . .
69	II, 2	.65	21.7 (1.41)	. . . AV II OCT M . . . Features of Postumus.

## B. Main type: star (or other object) l., in field.

70		.6	22.5 (1.46)	
71		.6	21.2 (1.37)	. . . CTETI . . .
72		.55	18.0 (1.17)	Draped . . . AVG
73		.5	8.4 (.54)	. . . V S . . .
74	II, 3	.65	22.2 (1.44)	. . . NISDIV . . .
75		.5	17.2 (1.11)	
76		.55	21.5 (1.39)	Draped
77		.7	27.2 (1.76)	Draped. Youthful head.

M. & S., V i, p. 396, Nos. 112 ff.; C. 46 ff.

l. holding whip (sometimes, star l., in field).

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- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 64         | Sol walking l., raising r. hand and holding whip<br>upright in l. . . .x. . .                     |
| 65         | Same type (Sol radiate).  |
| 66         | Same type. (r. hand off flan)   |
| 67         | Same type.  |
| 68         | Same type. . . . I ~  |
| 69         | Same type (radiate: mantle across chest).   |
| 70         | Sol walking l., raising r. hand and holding whip<br>upright in l. Star l. in field . . . TV . . . |
| 71         | Same type. . . . v s  |
| 72         | Same type.  |
| 73         | Same type (r. hand off flan) . . . F II I<br>Radiate.   |
| 74         | Same type. . . . ICTVS  |
| 75         | Same type. Radiate . . . CTA . . . .  |
| 76         | Same type. Star (?) l.  |
| 77         | Same type (l. hand off flan, r. holding whip).<br>NN. . .   |

## 32 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
78	II, 4	.75	19.2 (1.24)	Draped IM. . .
79	II, 5	.55	19.6 (1.27)	Draped . . .IZINN. . .

*C. Main type: P., l. in field.*

80		.6	15.8 (1.02)	Draped . . .ICV
----	--	----	----------------	-----------------

*D. Main type varied.*

81	II, 6	.6	20.7 (1.34)	. . . AVG . . .
82	II, 7	.6	18.1 (1.17)	Draped . . .AVO

---

Seven further worn coins seem to derive more or

---

*E. Main type, but turned to r.*

83	II, 8	.6	19.3 (1.25)	Draped. Youthful portrait (?)
84		.65	10.6 (.69)	Draped . . .v.

---

<b>Prototype: Tetricus I.</b>	<i>Rev.</i> LAETITIA AVG.
	Laetitia standing l.,

---

*A. Main types.*

85		.6	27.6 (1.79)	Draped and cuirassed (?) . . .PCTETRCVS. .
86		.55	12.3 (.8)	. . .II . TETPHICVS . . .
87		.65	17.5 (1.13)	Draped. Youthful por- trait . . .TETR

*No. Reverse*

78 Same type (on l., x low on r.).

79 Same type (+ on l.),  $\alpha$ EA ...VAV...

80 Sol walking l., raising r. hand and holding whip  
upright in l.: P., l., in field.

81 Sol walking l., raising r. hand and holding globe  
in l.: above globe .'. . . OTI. . .

82 Sol walking l., raising both hands. Radiate  
. . . V. . . AI

---

less closely from the 'Invictus' prototype.

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83 Sol running r., raising l. hand and holding whip  
in r. . . .CYOT. . .

84 Sol walking r., raising l. hand, r. hand, holding  
whip (?), off flan . . .TV. . . (r. to l., outwardly)

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M. & S., V ii, p. 408, Nos. 86 ff.; C. 70 ff.  
holding wreath and anchor.

---

85 Laetitia standing l., holding wreath (?) in r. hand  
(off flan) and anchor on ground in l.

. . . C V G

86 Same type. . . .V

87 Same type (very worn, but traces suggest this  
type).

# 34 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
88	II, 9	.6	16.6 (1.08)	Draped . . .VT. . .ICVI

## *B. Main type varied.*

89	II, 10	.55	20.7 (1.34)	. . . TIVZ
90		.55	23.0 (1.49)	. . . I I I . . .

## Prototype: Diocletian

Mars advancing l., carrying spear

91	II, 11	.65	36.6 (2.37)	Draped IMPCITRIC. . .
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## Prototype: Tetricus I.

*Rev.* PAX AVG.

Pax standing l., holding

## *A. Main type: no drapery over l. arm.*

92		.6	25.3 (1.64)	. . . IIIII
93		.6	8.4 (.54)	. . . TETRICVSII. . .
94		.6	13.2 (.86)	. . . I I I I I O . . .
95	II, 12	.6	21.9 (1.42)	Draped and cuirassed (?)
96		.6	18.8 (1.22)	. . . IIII. .
97		.6	18.2 (1.18)	Draped . . .VR. . .

- No.*                      *Reverse*
- 88 Laetitia standing front, head l., with knees slightly bent, holding up ? (wreath ?) in r. hand and holding anchor on ground in l. C.V.D. . . . TI II
- 89 Laetitia (?) standing l., holding patera (or wreath ?) in r. hand and anchor on ground in l. Low l., cross and [ (?) ... 𐌶 𐌵 ...
- 90 Laetitia (?) standing l., holding wreath in r. hand and vertical sceptre in l. . . . VG

---

M. & S., V ii, p. 244, No. 239; C. 314.

and trophy. Reverse of Diocletian.

- 
- 91 Mars advancing l., carrying trophy (?) over shoulder in r. hand and transverse spear in l. . . . IV . . .

---

M. & S., V ii, p. 409, Nos. 100 ff; C. 95 ff.

branch and vertical sceptre.

- 
- 92 Pax standing l., holding branch up in r. hand and vertical sceptre in l. . . . IIC
- 93 Same type. (Curly lines of figure) . . . v. . .
- 94 Same type (r. hand almost off flan).
- 95 Same type (r. hand almost off flan).
- 96 Same type. PA . . .
- 97 Same type. . . . E C C . . . C

# 36 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

## *B. Main type: drapery over l. arm.*

No.	Plate	Size	Wt.	Obverse
98		.65	17.9 (1.16)	I III P CL . . .
99		.65	18.8 (1.22)	
100		.65	24.2 (1.57)	I W I P IIT . . .
101	II, 13	.6	14.8 (.96)	Youthful portrait . . .CS . . TETRICV}. . .
102		.65	19.2 (1.24)	Draped. Youthful portrait
103		.6	22.0 (1.42)	Draped. Youthful portrait . . .RICVSCA. . .
104*	II, 14	.7	17.6 (1.14)	Draped
105*	II, 15	.8	21.7 (1.41)	Draped I. . .CI. . .
106		.55	19.5 (1.26)	Draped

## *C. Probably as B., but not quite certain.*

107	III, 1	.55	18.0 (1.17)	Draped. Youthful portrait . . . AVDAVI . .
108		.6	17.4 (1.13)	Draped DNOCC. . . VG
109		.55	18.0 (1.17)	Draped (?). . . .SAIAC (overstruck ?)
110		.55	15.1 (.98)	Youthful portrait . . . A I V A V I. . .
111		.55	12.9 (.84)	Youthful portrait . . .SAVC

\* Same obv. and rev. dies.

- No.*                      *Reverse*
- 98 Pax standing l., holding up branch in r. hand and  
vertical sceptre in l.: a fold of drapery falls over  
her l. arm. . . . X A . . .
- 99 Same type. PA. . .
- 100 Same type. . . .AV. . . .
- 101 Same type. ∩VX . . .
- 102 Same type. (r. hand almost off flan)
- 103 Same type. . . .XA . . .
- 104\* Same type. (r. hand almost obliterated)  
. . .X. .V. . .
- 105\* Same type. (r. hand off flan) . . .AV. 𐀀
- 106 Same type. (Curly lines of figures) . . .X. . .
- 107 As B. No. 1. (r. arm off flan)
- 108 Same type. (Indefinite object in r. hand)  
. . .O A XV. . . (r. to l., outwardly)
- 109 Same type. (l. arm almost off flan)
- 110 Same type. (r. arm off flan)
- 111 Same type. (r. arm off flan) . . . IVA. . .



# 38 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
112		.6	22.3 (1.45)	. .PC TETRIC . . .
113		.5	17.8 (1.15)	Draped. No legend (?)
114		.6	15.1 (.98)	...ETRIC . . . (r. to l., outwardly)
115		.6	23.7 (1.54)	
<hr/>				
115A	III, 2	Nine other worn coins probably show		
<hr/>				
<i>D. Probably as B, but altar l.</i>				
116		.65	12.6 (.82)	Draped IIIIP. . .
<hr/>				
Prototype: Tetricus I.			<i>Rev. PAX AVG.</i> Pax standing l., holding	
<hr/>				
117		.65	10.1 (.65)	
<hr/>				
Uncertain 'Pax' Type				
<hr/>				
118		.65	19.3 (1.25)	Draped . . .VSC. . .
<hr/>				
Prototype: Carausius.			<i>Rev. PAX AVG.</i> Pax standing l., holding	
<hr/>				
119		.55	14.6 (.95)	Draped (?) . . .TETRI. . .
120		.6	22.4 (1.45)	. . .VSIC . . .
121		.55	16.3 (1.06)	

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 112        | Same type. (r. arm obscure) . . . .A. . .                             |
| 113        | Same type. (Details of r. hand obscure) A. . .s<br>l. leg drawn back. |
| 114        | Same type. (r. arm off flan)  |
| 115        | Same type. (details of l. arm obscure) A. . .                         |

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the same reverse, of which one is illustrated.

---

- 116 As B., No. 1 (r. hand almost off flan) Altar l.

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M. & S., V ii, p. 409, Nos. 100 ff.; C. 95 ff.  
branch and transverse sceptre.

---

- 117 Pax standing l., holding branch in r. hand and  
transverse sceptre in l. (normal style—?)
- 

- 118 Female figure standing l., holding ? (rudder ?) on  
ground in r. hand, in l. . . .IIX. . .
- 

M. & S., V ii, p. 475, No. 130; C. 222.  
branch and cornucopiae.

---

- 119 Pax standing l., holding up branch in r. hand  
and cornucopiae in l.: a fold of drapery falls  
over l. arm. PAX AVG.

- 120 Same type. . . . A XAV.

- 121 Same type.

40 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

Probably same

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
122	III, 3	.5	23.8 (1.54)	Curious narrow portrait . . .IA. . .
123		.7	24.0 (1.55)	. . . RICVS PI.V.

Two more worn coins

**Prototype: Tetricus II.**

*Rev.* PIETAS AVGG (AVGVSTO etc.).

Priestly emblems variously arranged. (A big jug knife r. and l.)

*A. Jug alone visible.*

124		.5	7.0 (.45)	
125		.5	10.4 (.67)	II . . . v c
126		.5	17.2 (1.11)	Draped
127	III, 4	.6	12.5 (.81)	Youthful portrait (?)
128		.65	17.9 (1.16)	Draped
129		.6	20.00 (1.3)	
130		.55	9.5 (.62)	Draped (?) . . . A
131		.5	9.8 (.64)	. .. IAIITI .. .
132		.6	17.2 (1.11)	Draped . . . s . . .

reverse.

---

<i>No.</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
122	As No. 119 above (r. arm off flan: cornucopiae (?) in l. hand).
123	As No. 119 above (r. arm off flan: cornucopiae (?) in l. hand). v. l. in field.

---

probably show the same reverse.

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M. & S., V ii, p. 423, Nos. 254 ff.; C. 48 ff.  
is always in the centre: simpulum, sprinkler, lituus and

---

- 124 Jug with lip r. (Jug has two feet, one raised).  
...R. ...
- 125 Same type. (Only top of jug visible) NOIRC
- 126 Same type. (Jug is curiously stylized and looks  
almost like a standing figure)
- 127 Same type. (Around the jug, chain of indecipher-  
able letters or border)
- 128 Jug with lip l. (?) IUA Double struck.
- 129 Jug with lip l. (?) ...FA. ...
- 130 Same type. ....s
- 131 Same type. ....III ....
- 132 Same type. (? Sprinkler on r.)

# 42 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
133		.6	26.9 (1.74)	Draped and cuirassed (?)
134		.5	15.1 (.98)	. . .TS . . .CON . . .

## *B. Jug and additional emblem r.*

135		.7	27.0 (1.75)	Draped IMTE. . .
136		.45	8.1 (.52)	
137		.5	22.5 (1.46)	
138	III, 5	.6	13.0 (.84)	. . .TI⊙TIC
139		.65	17.8 (1.15)	IM. . .VD

## *C. Jug and additional emblem l.*

140		.6	20.3 (1.32)	Draped . . .STR . . .SC. . .
141	III, 6	.6	27.0 (1.75)	. . .⊙ ~ . . .

## *D. Jug and additional emblems r. or l.*

142		.65	30.6 (1.98)	Draped cuirassed (?) PC . . . VG
143		.55	15.0 (.97)	Draped. Youthful por- trait (?)
144	III, 7	.55	17.7 (1.15)	Draped
145		.6	25.0 (1.62)	. . .SPIV . . .
146	III, 8	.55	9.7 (.63)	

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 133        | Same type. (? Sprinkler on l.)  |
| 134        | Same type. (Only top of jug visible) . . .A   |
| 135        | Jug with lip r.: lituus on r.   |
| 136        | Jug with lip l.: lituus (?) on r.   |
| 137        | Jug (uncertain if lip is l. or r., as top is obliterated): lituus (?) r. $\alpha\alpha$ . . .                     |
| 138        | Jug with lip r.: uncertain object attached to it on r. . . .XQ. . .   |
| 139        | Jug with two handles (?) on two feet: uncertain emblem (?).   |
| 140        | Jug with lip l.: lituus (?) on l., ? object lost on r.<br>S D . . .   |
| 141        | Jug with two handles: top is shaped like caduceus . . .; IICSIIII uncertain emblem, $\cup$ with long stroke on l. |
| 142        | Jug with lip r.: lituus and knife on l., sprinkler on r. . . .IE . . . AS . . . III in ex.                        |
| 143        | Same type: uncertain emblem on l., lituus on r.<br>. . . . ~ . . .  |
| 144        | Same type: sprinkler on l., lituus on r., + r. in field.  |
| 145        | Jug with lip r.: uncertain emblem on l. and r.; in l. field, s.   |
| 146        | Same type: lituus (?) on l., sprinkler on r.  |

# 44 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
147		.55	19.9 (1.29)	
148	III, 9	.65	31.1 (2.02)	Draped . . .VI. . .
149		.45	9.5 (.62)	Draped . . .~. . .
150		.5	8.7 (.56)	Draped. Youthful por- trait . . . SUI
151		.5	23.3 (1.51)	
152		.6	24.8 (1.61)	Draped
153	III, 10	.5	17.9 (1.16)	Draped (features like those of Claudius II ?)
154		.65	12.5 (.81)	Draped
155		.6	18.5 (1.20)	Youthful portrait . . .IIVET ETRICVS
156		.55	18.3 (1.19)	. . .CV. . .A. . .
157	III, 11	.6	17.5 (1.13)	Draped . . .NVSP. . .
158		.55	20.4 (1.32)	
159		.55	20.6 (1.33)	
160		.6	23.9 (1.55)	. . .TILI. . .
161	III, 12	.65	28.8 (1.87)	Draped small head . . .IINAC
162		.55	14.3 (.93)	

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 147        | Same type: sprinkler (?) on l. lituus (?) on r.   |
| 148        | Same type: (stylized almost as a figure): sprinkler on l., uncertain emblem on r.                             |
| 149        | Same type: (stylized as a figure) uncertain emblem on l. and r. (?)   |
| 150        | Jug with lip l.: sprinkler and simpulum on l., knife on r.  |
| 151        | Same type: lituus on l., uncertain emblem on r.<br>Border of large dots.                                      |
| 152        | Same type: (on two feet): sprinkler on l., lituus on r. . . . C. r. in field.                                 |
| 153        | Jug with lip r.: uncertain emblem on l. and r.<br>. . . .D T ~ . . . .  |
| 154        | Same type: lituus on l., and lituus on r.   |
| 155        | Same type: uncertain emblem on l., lituus on r.<br>. . . .CACC + l. in field.                                 |
| 156        | Same type: uncertain emblem on l. and r.<br>. . . .E P I . . . .  |
| 157        | Same type (with two feet): sprinkler on l., knife (?) on r.   |
| 158        | Same type: sprinkler on l., lituus on r.  |
| 159        | Same type (stylized): two objects, like litui attached to it by a bar on l. and r.                            |
| 160        | Jug with two lips: uncertain emblems on l. and r.; o above, VCQV on l.  |
| 161        | Jug (or rather vase) with two handles: uncertain emblems on l. and r.   |
| 162        | Jug with lip l. and r. (?), on two feet: round object (patera standing on edge) on l., uncertain emblem on r. |



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*E. Four jugs*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
163	III, 13	.55	22.5 (1.46)	Features of Gallienus . . . .IOI . . .

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Other worn coins show similar types: class A. 2,

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**Prototype: Victorinus (?)**

*Rev.* Pietas standing l., sacrificing at altar.

---

164		.75	8.9 (.58)	. . . TETRI. . .
165		.6	25.4 (1.65)	. . .I N III . . .
166	III, 14	.75	20.8 (1.35)	Cuirassed . . .DIVS. . .
167		.55	20.6 (1.33)	Draped
168		.6	19.5 (1.26)	Draped. Youthful por- trait IMPC TE . . .

---

Two more worn coins seem to

---

**Prototype: Victorinus.**

*Rev.* PROVIDENTIA AVG.

Providentia standing l., holding

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169		.6	14.3 (.93)	Youthful portrait (?) . . .IA . . .
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---

Varied (exact

---

170		.6	21.9 (1.42)	. . .IPI . . . SCA . . .
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*No.*                      *Reverse*

163 Three larger and one smaller jug.

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class B. 2, class C. 2, class D. 4.

---

M. & S., V ii, p. 392, No. 58; C. 91.

Pietas holds spear.

---

164 Pietas standing l., sacrificing out of patera in r.,  
hand over altar and holding vertical sceptre in l.

. . .S. . .V. . .

165 Same type: (but sceptre transverse)

166 Pietas standing l., as on No. 165: altar almost  
off flan . . . .I . . . .

167 Same type: (but cornucopiae for sceptre). Altar  
almost off flan.

168 Same type. Altar distorted PA. . .

---

show the same reverse.

---

M. & S., V ii, p. 392, pp. 61 ff.; C. 100 ff.

wand over globe and cornucopiae.

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169 Providentia standing l., holding in r. hand wand  
over globe and cornucopiae in l.

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prototype uncertain).

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170 Providentia standing l., holding patera and rudder  
on globe (?) in r. hand and cornucopiae in l.  
PROVID. . .

48 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

Prototype: Tetricus I.

Rev. SALVS AVG.

Salus standing l., feeding from patera a

No.	Plate	Size	Wt.	Obverse
171		.6	23.7 (1.54)	. . .TETRIC . . . Double struck
172	III, 15	.6	26.5 (1.72)	Draped l. . . .LLIEV . .

Two very worn coins

173	IV, 1	.65	20.9 (1.35)	Draped. Youthful por- trait . . .SC. . .
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Probably derived

174	IV, 2	.65	28.6 (1.85)	. . .VS AV . . .
175		.6	22.6 (1.46)	. . .VV . . .
176		.6	18.7 (1.21)	. . . CVSP . . .
177		.6	12.2 (.79)	Draped. Youthful por- trait. . . .ESVTET . . .
178	IV, 3	.6	22.7 (1.47)	Draped CLII . DOTINDI
179	IV, 4	.5	13.9 (.9)	Draped . . . IVICI . . .
180		.45	12.6 (.82)	No legend

M. & S., V ii, p. 410, Nos. 121 ff.; C. 148 ff.  
snake coiled round altar and holding sceptre.

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- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 171        | Salus standing l., feeding out of patera in r. hand<br>a snake coiled around altar, and holding<br>vertical sceptre in l. |
| 172        | Same type. . . .T . . .   |
- 

show the same reverse.

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- 173 As on No. 171 VIRTV. . .
- 

from SALVS type.

---

- 174 As on No. 171, but altar off flan (?), cornucopiae  
half dissolved into a pattern. . . .VA . . .
- 175 Same type (cornucopiae obscure on l.)
- 176 As on No. 171; r. arm and cornucopiae (?) off flan.
- 177 Same type. Detail of patera and altar obscure.
- 178 Woman standing l., r. hand extended, with a  
curved line from it to a mark in field l. (? re-  
mains of snake coiling up from altar): l. arm  
extended downwards at side NÆ > >
- 179 Same die as No. 178. . . . v . . .
- 180 Woman standing l., r. hand extended over altar  
(? no snake), arm extended downwards.

**Prototype: Tetricus I.***Rev. SPES AVG (etc.)**Spes standing l., holding*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
181	IV, 5	.75	36.7 (2.38)	Draped . . .PCTE. . .VS. . .
182		.55	27.3 (1.77)	Draped. Youthful por- trait . . .CSVID . . .
183		.7	28.6 (1.85)	Draped
184	IV, 6	.65	19.0 (1.23)	. . . PIVESV Features like those of Claudius II.
185	IV, 7	.6	12.2 (.79)	Draped. Youthful por- trait? . . .ODVIV . . .
186		.6	10.7 (.69)	
187		.7	17.8 (1.15)	Draped . . .VIC.
188	IV, 8	.45	12.0 (.78)	
189		.6	16.8 (1.09)	. . . ES . . . E . . .
190		.6	16.4 (1.06)	Draped
191	IV, 9	.6	21.8 (1.41)	Draped. Youthful por- trait (?) . . . T . . RICVS
192		.5	11.3 (.73)	Draped (?)
193		.6	18.4 (1.19)	Draped. Youthful por- trait . . .VS
194		.45	4.8 (.31)	. . .II . . .

M. & S., V ii, p. 411, Nos. 130 ff.; C. 158 ff.  
up flower and gathering up skirt.

- 
- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 181        | Spes standing l., holding up flower in r. hand and gathering up skirt with l. SPES . . .V . . . |
| 182        | Spes standing l., etc. (r. hand almost off flan)  |
| 183        | Same type. + on l.  |
| 184        | Same type. . . .S AVGG  |
| 185        | Same type: (only top of figure on flan) + l. in field. . . .T AVII. . .                         |
| 186        | Same type: (only top part of figure on flan)  |
| 187        | Same type. . . .AVG . . .   |
| 188        | Same type: (only top of figure on flan)   |
| 189        | Same type: (r. hand off flan)   |
| 190        | Same type: (flower off flan: lower part of figure obliterated). . . .C. . .                     |
| 191        | Spes standing l., etc. (flower off flan)<br>. . . . V . . .                                     |
| 192        | Same type.  |
| 193        | Same type. . . . O. . .   |
| 194        | Same type.  |

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One more worn specimen  
Varied.—Spes

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
195	IV, 10	.6	29.5 (1.91)	Draped . . .PF . . . Varied—
196		.6	31.7 (2.05)	IMP . . .
197	IV, 11	.6	16.1 (1.04)	. . .VIAI . . .
198		.6	22.0 (1.42)	. . .VSA . . .

Pattern developments

199		.65	17.1 (1.11)	Draped . . .TETRI . . .
200	IV, 12	.55	19.4 (1.26)	Draped . . .INV . . .
201		.6	19.7 (1.28)	
202		.6	14.5 (.94)	

Prototype: Postumus.

*Rev.* Victory standing r.,

203	IV, 13	.6	21.7 (1.41)	Draped
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Prototype: Tetricus I.

*Rev.* COMES AVG.

Victory standing l.,

204		.7	26.7 (1.73)	. . . DV . . .
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showed the same type—  
type. PAX.

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
195	As on No. 191. PAX. . .
196	As on No. 191. (flower off flan). Altar (?) r. in field.
197	Same type, but patera in r. hand. (lower part of figure off flan).
198	Same type (but no trace of r. hand or flower). SPE ~ . . . CI. . . (l. up, outwardly)

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of 'Spes' type.

---

199

200

201

202

---

M. & S., V ii, p. 360, No. 287; C. 31.  
holding wreath and palm.

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203 Victory, winged, standing r., holding up wreath  
(?) in extended r. hand. . . .TITIT

---

M. & S., V ii, p. 407, Nos. 56 ff.; C. 16 ff.  
holding wreath and palm.

---

204 Victory, winged, standing l., holding up wreath  
(?) in r. hand and holding palm in l. . . .AVG



54 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
205		.55	17.3 (1.12)	Draped IMP . . .
206	IV, 14	.55	28.2 (1.83)	IMPCTA . . .
207		.6	13.4 (.87)	Draped. Youthful por- trait (?)
208		.6	17.8 (1.15)	Draped
209		.6	17.9 (1.16)	... 30   ..A...

---

**Prototype: Carinus (?)**

*Rev.* Virtus standing, holding

---

210		.6	21.8 (1.41)	. . . VSPFA . . .
211	IV, 15	.6	15.1 (.98)	. . . TRICVS . . .

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**Prototype: Tetricus I.**

*Rev.* Virtus standing holding

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212	V, 1	.6	19.3 (1.25)	
-----	------	----	----------------	--

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**Various Figure Types.\***

*A. Standing front—'male' figures (bare or with*

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213		.45	12.7 (.82)	. . .CI . . . A
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\* Some of these types will recall known models, but they are placed here because the resemblance is imperfect or uncertain.

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 205        | Same type. (Wreath clear) Star (?) l. in field.                             |
| 206        | Same type. (Wreath off flan: long transverse palm)<br>. . . I . . . I . . . |
| 207        | Same type. (Wreath clear) Λ V . . . Overstruck (?)                          |
| 208        | Same type.   c o III . . .  |
| 209        | Same type.   . . . o . . . I c  |

---

M. & S., V ii, p. 167, Nos. 223 ff.; C. 172 ff.  
spear and parazonium.

---

- 210 Virtus standing front, holding vertical spear in r.  
    hand and parazonium in l. VIR . . .
- 211 Same type. IOVI . . .

---

M. & S., V ii, p. 411, Nos. 145 ff.; C. 199 ff.  
spear and leaning on shield.

---

- 212 Virtus standing front, head l., resting r. hand on  
    shield set on ground. On l., z reversed.
- 

*short drapery).*

---

- 213 holding ? in raised r. hand, arrow (?) in l.

56 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
214		.6	23.2 (1.5)	
215	V, 2	.45	10.0 (.65)	Youthful head (?)
216		.5	10.4 (.67)	
217	V, 3	.45	9.4 (.61)	Behind head, ♂. No legend (?)
218	V, 4	.65	30.9 (2.0)	. . .I .DI
219		.4	9.5 (.62)	
220		.75	31.0 (2.01)	. . . . VGPIAI. . .
221		.6	22.9 (1.48)	AD. . . (outwardly on r. upwards)
222	V, 5	.45	10.2 (.66)	No legend
223	V, 6	.35	7.4 (.48)	
224		.55	12.1 (.78)	Youthful head. No leg- end. Border of large dots.
225	V, 7	.45	10.8 (.7)	IM. . .
226		.56	15.5 (1.0)	. . .CIICCI. . .
227		.6	18.1 (1.17)	
228	V, 8	.5	13.4 (.87)	Bearded
229		.45	14.4 (.93)	

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 214        | holding branch in raised r. hand, l. hand lowered.<br>Border of large dots.   |
| 215        | holding branch in raised r. hand, l. hand lowered.  |
| 216        | holding branch (?) in lowered l. hand, r. hand<br>raised.   |
| 217        | holding caduceus in l. hand. No legend (?).   |
| 218        | holding vertical palm in r. hand, l. hand lowered,<br>with fingers extended. . . . 220 on r.; ladder-<br>like object, IIIIII in ex. |
| 219        | holding long vertical caduceus (?) in r. hand,<br>cornucopiae in l.   |
| 220        | holding sceptre, nearly vertical in r. hand and<br>long crook, nearly vertical, in l.   |
| 221        | holding vertical sceptre in r. hand, ? in l. In r.<br>field, c.   |
| 222        | holding vertical sceptre (?) in r. hand, left hand<br>lowered. No legend (?)  |
| 223        | holding vertical sceptre with knob at top (?), in<br>l. hand.   |
| 224        | holding simpulum (?) downwards in l. hand,<br>and ? in r. hand.   |
| 225        | holding wreath (?) downwards in l. hand, r. arm<br>extended (short skirt (?), turned up)  |
| 226        | r. hand raised, holding ?. . . . I . . . . TO. . .  |
| 227        | r. hand flung out and up, l. hand holding ?<br>. . . . T T . . . .  |
| 228        | r. hand lowered, with fingers extended, l. hand<br>holding ? . . . VI. . .  |
| 229        | both hands lowered. ++ (?) l. and r. in field.  |

58 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

*A. 'Female' figures (draped)*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
230		.6	11.1 (.72)	
231		.55	15.5 (1.0)	Bust, draped.
232		.6	14.9 (.97)	
233		.55	12.4 (.8)	
234	V, 9	.6	17.1 (1.11)	Draped, cuirassed r.
235	V, 10	.5	13.5 (.87)	Draped: + on shoulder
<i>B. Standing front, head r.—'Male' figures (with</i>				
236		.6	19.8 (1.28)	Caduceus (?) behind neck
237	V, 11	.6	11.1 (.72)	IM. . . ICTO. . .
238		.55	12.0 (.78)	
239	V, 12	.6	20.5 (1.33)	. . . C TET.
240		.55	18.0 (1.17)	
241		.6	7.5 (.49)	
242		.55	24.3 (1.57)	
243		.5	11.7 (.76)	v . . .
244	V, 13	.45	5.8 (.38)	

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 230        | holding branch in l. hand, r. hand raised. Two strokes to l., in field, . . . T . . .       |
| 231        | holding cornucopiae (?) in r. hand and rudder (?) on ground in l.                           |
| 232        | holding cornucopiae (?) in l. hand, r. arm extended.  |
| 233        | holding cornucopiae (?) in l. hand, r. hand lowered.  |
| 234        | holding vertical sceptre (?) in extended r. hand: big fold of drapery on breast. . . . IISC |
| 235        | both arms extended and lowered. No legend (?)   |

*short drapery).*

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| 236 | holding up branch in l. hand, r. hand raised. Helmeted. Low on r. . . . OM. . . outwardly.  |
| 237 | holding long palm (?) in r. hand, l. hand lowered, l. arm extended and bent.  |
| 238 | holding long palm (?) in r. hand, l. hand lowered by side (?)   |
| 239 | holding vertical sceptre (?) in r. hand, l. hand lowered, with fingers extended. Radiate. On l., cc (the first diagonally above the other). |
| 240 | holding vertical sceptre (?) in r. hand, l. arm extended downwards. No legend (?)   |
| 241 | holding vertical sceptre (?) in l. hand, r. arm extended, holding ? Radiate (?)   |
| 242 | holding vertical sceptre (?) in l. hand, r. arm extended downwards.   |
| 243 | holding vertical spear in r. hand. Radiate.   |
| 244 | with both arms extended. v on l.  |

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<i>Standing front, head r.—</i>				
<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
245	V, 14	.7	24.2 (1.57)	. . .MAVP R O BVSP.. .
246		.55	10.8 (.7)	. . .AAA(?). . .
247		.5	13.0 (.84)	
248		.6	14.6 (.95)	Draped
<i>C. Standing front, head l.—'Male' figures (short</i>				
249		.55	21.7 (1.41)	
250		.6	22.9 (1.48)	Doublestruck or over- struck (?)
251		.65	19.1 (1.24)	
252	V, 15	.55	8.9 (.58)	. . . O . . .NV. . .
253	VI, 1	.6	28.9 (1.87)	No legend (?)
254		.55	30.4 (1.97)	
255		.6	20.9 (1.35)	Bust draped. Youthful head.
256	VI, 2	.55	23.7 (1.54)	Draped
<i>Standing front, head l.—</i>				
257	VI, 3	.45	17.4 (1.13)	No legend. Large ear Necklace (?)
258		.45	11.2 (.73)	Youthful head (?)

*'Female' figures (draped).*


---

<i>No.</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
245	holding vertical sceptre in r. hand, I.V. . .
246	holding vertical spear (?) in l. hand, round shield (?) on l. arm. IA. . .
247	with both hands extended downwards: across body fold of drapery (?). ɔ...vc . . .
248	both arms lowered: radiate. Double-struck.

*drapery).*

249	holding branch (?) in r. hand, ? in l.
250	holding vertical sceptre in r. hand, and wreath (?) in lowered l. On l. οπ on r. ε (?)
251	holding vertical sceptre in r. hand, l. hand at side.
252	holding vertical sceptre in both hands. No legend.
253	holding vertical sceptre in l. hand, r. hand lowered. . . .VI (?) (large)
254	raising r. hand, and placing l. on side, l. elbow bent.
255	extending both arms.
256	both arms extended and lowered: lower part of figure off flan.

*'Female' figures (draped).*


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257	holding branch in r. hand and vertical sceptre in l.: curious treatment of figure.
258	holding vertical sceptre in r. hand, ? in l., to l., E



# 62 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
259		.6	22.8 (1.48)	Draped.
260		.6	15.5 (1.0)	Bust draped. HDE. . . VC.; the "D" is crossed

## *D. Standing r. 'male' figures (short drapery).*

261		.6	14.8 (.96)	
262		.45	7.5 (.49)	
263	VI, 4	.55	21.3 (1.38)	. . . O?PIA (?)
264		.5	6.3 (.41)	. . . OTRO (?) . . .
265*	VI, 5	.5	13.8 (.89)	
266†	VI, 6	.5	14.6 (.95)	Bust draped.
267		.65	17.3 (1.12)	. . . VADC . . . AI
268		.65	24.0 (1.55)	Youthful head. Bust draped. . . IT.TI. . .
269	VI, 7	.55	18.3 (1.19)	IMPCV . . . IC. R(?)
270		.6	9.7 (.63)	. . . Ω ~ . . .
271	VI, 8	.65	33.9 (2.2)	Head l. Traces of letters of unusual shape all around edge.

\* Same obv. (?) and rev. die as No. 266.

† Same obv. (?) and rev. die as No. 265.

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 259        | holding vertical sceptre in r. hand and cornucopiae in l. P A H . . . II                                      |
| 260        | holding shield (?) in r. hand, l. arm raised, as if brandishing a javelin. D, l., in field.                   |
| 261        | brandishing javelin in r. hand, l. arm extended.  |
| 262        | holding vertical sceptre in l. hand, ? in r.<br>. . .CTA  |
| 263        | holding transverse spear upwards across body in both hands, – in loop of r. arm.                              |
| 264        | holding transverse spear upwards across body in both hands. x low in field l., large s (or snake) in field r. |
| 265        | Same type. Helmeted . . .A. . .   |
| 266        | Same type. Helmeted. .VIA. . .1   |
| 267        | holding transverse spear across body upwards in both hands. IIISI (?) . . .                                   |
| 268        | Same type.  |
| 269        | Same type. . . . J . . .SIS Helmeted (?) x, r. in field.  |
| 270        | Same type (? spear not clearly seen). Helmeted.   |
| 271        | holding transverse spear downwards across body in both hands . . .S. . .V. . .                                |

64 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
272		.55	16.6 (1.08)	. . . IT . . .
273		.5	14.0 (.91)	Bust draped. . . . O I
274		.5	12.1 (.78)	. . . AI. . .
275		.7	48.2 (3.12)	
276	VI, 9	.55	15.8 (1.02)	IM. . . . .
277		.6	13.3 (.86)	Bust draped (?)
278	VI, 10	.6	29.5 (1.91)	. . . IXV . . .
279		.7	21.4 (1.39)	
280		.65	31.4 (2.03)	
<hr/>				
				<i>Standing r.—</i>
281*	VI, 11	.6	16.3 (1.06)	Draped
282†	VI, 12	.55	22.5 (1.46)	Draped . . . AVID . . .
283		.65	18.4 (1.19)	. . . .HO.V. . .
284		.6	6.6 (.43)	Draped
285		.55	29.2 (1.89)	Draped IMPCI . . . AAC

\* Same obv. and rev. die as Nos. 282 and 292.

† Same obv. and rev. dies as No. 281 and 292.

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 272        | holding horizontal sceptre across body in both hands.                                     |
| 263        | holding vertical spear (?) in r. hand, round shield (?) on r. arm.                        |
| 274        | holding vertical spear (?) in l. hand, and sword (?) across body in r.                    |
| 275        | holding vertical spear (?) in l. hand, r. arm down.                                       |
| 276        | holding sword (?) across body in r. hand and globe (?) in l. . . .ACII. . .               |
| 277        | holding sword (?) across body in r. hand and spear (?), nearly vertical, in l. v . . . IA |
| 278        | holding wreath in r. hand and palm (?) in l. (curious curved lines).                      |
| 279        | r. hand held down, l. arm extended . . .I c   |
| 280        | both arms extended downwards, . . .c: knobs for fists (?)                                 |

---

*'Female' figures (draped).*

---

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| 281 | holding arrow (?) up in r. hand and bow in extended l.: quiver on shoulder. (Diana) Star in field outwardly (r. to l.), . . .AI_JITAA |
| 282 | Same die as No. 281. No legend visible.   |
| 282 | holding cornucopiae in both hands; ? radiate . . .LIIA. . .   |
| 284 | with r. hand gathering up drapery, holding palm in l.   |
| 285 | holding ? in lowered r. hand, long vertical palm in l. . . .v. . .  |

# 66 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
286		.6	19.9 (1.29)	
287		.55	9.4 (.61)	Bust draped (?)
288		.55	10.8 (.7)	
289		.6	16.4 (1.06)	Draped . . . VI
290		.6	9.6 (.62)	. . .II . . .
291		.5	12.8 (.83)	
292*	VI, 13	.6	20.8 (1.35)	. . . . IIIII . . . .
293		.55	17.6 (1.14)	. . .TETRIC . . .
294	VI, 14	.65	22.2 (1.44)	. . .TETRIC . . .

## *E. Advancing r. 'Male' figures (short drapery).*

295		.5	16.1 (1.04)	
296	VI, 15	.6	18.1 (1.17)	Bust draped. Slightly double-struck.
297		.65	32.5 (2.11)	
298		.65	17.4 (1.13)	? Imitation of Postumus.
299		.45	16.9 (1.1)	
300		.55	20.0 (1.3)	

\* Same obv. and rev. die as Nos. 281 and 282.

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>   |
|------------|--|
| 286        | holding transverse sceptre, pointing up to l. in<br>r. hand, and extending l. hand.                      |
| 287        | holding vertical sceptre in l. hand, ? in r.   |
| 288        | holding vertical spear in l. hand, r. hand raised.<br>Helmeted c. . .                                    |
| 289        | holding vertical spear in r. hand, l. arm bent, l.<br>hand on hip (helmeted) . . . s c . . .             |
| 290        | holding transverse spear (?) in r. hand, ↓ (?)<br>in l.  |
| 291        | raising r. hand, holding rudder (?) on ground<br>in l.   |
| 292        | raising r. hand, holding s in l. . . . I IIN . . .   |
| 293        | raising r. hand, holding ?, l. hand extended.  |
| 294        | holding ? over body in r. hand, l. hand bent over<br>altar (?).  |
| 295        | brandishing javelin in r. hand, l. arm extended.   |
| 296        | holding vertical sceptre in l. hand, r. hand lowered<br>holding ? Slightly double-struck. No legend (?). |
| 297        | holding vertical sceptre and cornucopiae in l.<br>hand, r. hand lowered, holding ?                       |
| 298        | holding vertical sceptre in r. hand and ? in l.  |
| 299        | holding vertical spear in r. hand, ? in l.   |
| 300        | holding vertical spear in r. hand, l. hand off flan.<br>Helmeted, wearing cloak to knees.                |

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
301	VII, 1	.55	21.8 (1.41)	. . . IIII
302	VII, 2	.55	19.2 (1.24)	Bust draped.
303		.55	17.6 (1.14)	
304	VII, 3	.55	24.4 (1.58)	Bust draped (?) XMN in front of head.
305	VII, 4	.55	22.3 (1.45)	DI IIO CLIIIVPIO
306		.55	24.5 (1.59)	Youthful head. Bust draped.
307*	VII, 5	.55	20.7 (1.34)	Bust draped . . . . IIIC
308†		.55	18.9 (1.22)	Bust draped
309‡		.55	17.1 (1.61)	Bust draped (?).
310		.65	14.5 (.94)	Bust draped (?). ? Over- struck on old reverse.
311		.55	19.3 (1.25)	
312	VII, 6	.5	15.3 (.99)	Youthful head. No leg- end.
313		.5	7.9 (.51)	
314		.5	10.3 (.67)	
315		.5	11.0 (.71)	

\* Same obv. and rev. die as No. 308. Same rev. die as No. 309.

† Same obv. and rev. die as No. 307. Same rev. die as No. 309.

‡ Same rev. die as Nos. 307, 308.

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>   |
|------------|--|
| 301        | holding round shield in r. hand, vertical spear in l. Helmeted. No legend (?).                 |
| 302        | holding vertical spear in l. hand, r. arm on hip, r. elbow bent. I (?) l. in field. No legend. |
| 303        | holding transverse spear upwards across body with both hands.                                  |
| 304        | Same type. M . . . M   |
| 305        | Same type. DVTI . . . Helmeted.  |
| 306        | holding wreath (?) up in r. hand and vertical spear (?) in r.                                  |
| 307*       | holding sword (?) in raised r. hand and axe (?) in l., right knee bent.                        |
| 308†       | Same type.   |
| 309        | Same type. TLA (?) . . .   |
| 310        | ? r. arm raised, as if brandishing javelin, l. arm thrust out.                                 |
| 311        | r. arm raised, r. elbow bent, l. arm extended, knees bent. CSL . . .                           |
| 312        | both arms extended downwards, l. with fingers extended, knees bent. No legend.                 |
| 313        | r. arm out, elbow bent, r. hand downward.  |
| 314        | r. hand extended downwards, l. arm raised.   |
| 315        | head turned back l., holding vertical ? caduceus (with two tops ?) in r. hand and ? in l.      |



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*Advancing r.—*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
316	VII, 7	.5	11.0 (.71)	. . . I ~ TI . . .
317		.6	16.1 (1.04)	
318	VII, 8	.6	13.4 (.87)	Draped. . . . VSPIPAV . . .
<i>F. Standing l. 'male' figures (short drapery).</i>				
319	VII, 9	.65	15.8 (1.02)	. . . ICVS PAV Bust draped. In front of (?)
320		.65	18.8 (1.22)	
321		.65	19.4 (1.26)	
322	VII, 10	.6	20.5 (1.33)	\ in front of head.
323		.6	18.3 (1.19)	. . . . AVII
324		.55	8.2 (.53)	
325		.55	28.5 (1.85)	. . . CVS . . .
326		.55	15.1 (.98)	. . . PLIVI ~ (?)
327	VII, 11	.65	28.2 (1.83)	C E S A I E T R . . .
328	VII, 12	.55	25.3 (1.64)	. . . OOO . . .
329		.7	23.2 (1.5)	. . . ICV . . .

*'Female figures' (draped).*

- 
- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>   |
|------------|--|
| 316        | holding wreath upwards in r. hand, ? in l.<br>. . . II . . . II  |
| 317        | holding ? in raised r. hand, vertical spear in l.  |
| 318        | holding out drapery in both hands: uncertain ob-<br>ject half obliterated r. in field.                       |
| 319        | holding club on ground in r. hand, ? in l. Border<br>of large dots.  |
| 320        | holding patera (?) in r. hand over altar and ? in l.   |
| 321        | holding vertical sceptre in r. hand, l. hand on hip.   |
| 322        | holding vertical sceptre in l. hand, r. hand down,<br>with fingers extended. Radiate. Angular. No<br>legend. |
| 323        | holding vertical sceptre in l. hand (slightly tinny<br>appearance)   |
| 324        | holding vertical sceptre in l. hand and ? in ex-<br>tended r.  |
| 325        | holding vertical sceptre in l. hand and ? in ex-<br>tended r.  |
| 326        | holding vertical sceptre in l. hand . . . II   |
| 327        | holding vertical sceptre in l. hand, r. hand at<br>side. Γ, low in field.                                    |
| 328        | holding vertical sceptre in l. hand, raising r. hand<br>above altar.   |
| 329        | holding vertical sceptre in l. hand . . . GENIVA   |

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
330		.6	10.8 (.7)	. . . OR . . . A . . .
331		.7	24.9 (1.61)	Bust draped.
332		.7	15.5 (1.0)	. . . O C
333		.6	24.0 (1.55)	No legend.
334	VII, 13	.55	13.1 (.85)	
335		.6	22.3 (.45)	
336		.6	19.3 (1.25)	
337	VII, 14	.5	11.3 (.73)	. . . N . . .
338		.6	21.7 (1.41)	
339		.5	17.2 (1.11)	. . . . SI . . . .
340	VII, 15	.8	29.2 (1.89)	Bust draped.
341		.4	9.5 (.62)	
342	VIII, 1	.45	8.9 (.58)	
343		.55	14.0 (.91)	Draped ...RTIA . . .
<hr/>				
				<i>Standing l.—</i>
<hr/>				
344		.75	19.6 (1.27)	. . . . VC . . .

- |            |                |
|------------|----------------|
| <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i> |
|------------|----------------|
- 330 holding vertical sceptre in l. hand.
- 331 resting r. hand on shield set on ground, l. hand lowered.
- 332 holding vertical spear in r. hand.
- 333 holding vertical spear in r. hand, l. arm extended, with fingers going out into circle of dots. No legend.
- 334 holding vertical spear in r. hand, patera downwards in l. A . . . T
- 335 holding vertical spear (?) in l. hand, r. hand down.
- 336 raising r. hand, l. hand lowered. OA . . .
- 337 holding ? in r. hand, l. arm lowered. Helmeted.
- 338 holding ? in r. hand, l. arm lowered.
- 339 holding ? in lowered r. hand, l. arm at side.  
A . . . AHII
- 340 holding both hands down, with fingers extended  
. . .
- 341 r. arm lowered, l. arm raised, elbow bent.
- 342 r. arm at side, holding ? (rudder) in lowered l.
- 343 extending r. hand to ? on l.: uncertain object on r.

---

*'Female' figures (draped).*

---

- 344 holding branch in r. hand and cornucopiae in l.

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
345		.55	6.5 (.42)	
346	VIII, 2	.55	18.9 (1.22)	Draped. . . . AV DIVS P E AVG.
347		.6	15.2 (.98)	. . . RITICVS
348		.75	13.4 (.87)	LLLC . . . . A Youthful head. Bust draped.
349		.7	21.7 (1.41)	
350		.7	29.7 (1.92)	Large head like Postu- mus (?)
351		.55	21.7 (1.41)	CIDIVAO . . .
352		.65	14.2 (.92)	
353	VIII, 3	.55	16.0 (1.04)	Draped . . .MAC . . .
354		.6	19.1 (1.24)	Draped. Youthful por- trait . . . E . T . . .
355		.55	7.5 (.49)	. . . I L AV T . . .
356		.7	23.1 (1.5)	. . .A . . .N. . .CVS(?) . . .
357		.55	13.1 (.85)	. . .PCVICTOR . . .
358		.6	19.6 (1.27)	. . .S P
359		.6	20.3 (1.32)	IVPCLTACITVSP . . . Bust draped.
360		.6	7.4 (.48)	. . .CP . . .
361		.5	15.3 (.99)	

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>   |
|------------|--|
| 345        | holding branch in r. hand and cornucopiae in l.<br>VDA . . . . AS                            |
| 346        | holding branch in r. hand and cornucopiae in l.<br>. . .TVGG.                                |
| 347        | holding branch in r. hand and transverse sceptre<br>in l. VDA . . . AS                       |
| 348        | holding branch in r. hand and vertical sceptre in<br>l. Uncertain object, low l., in field.  |
| 349        | holding branch in r. hand, and anchor on ground<br>in l. Uncertain object, low l., in field. |
| 350        | Same type. v. . .  |
| 351        | holding branch in r. hand and wreath in l.<br>. . .I C I . . .                               |
| 352        | holding caduceus downwards in r. hand and<br>vertical sceptre in l.                          |
| 353        | holding cornucopiae in l. hand, r. hand off flan.  |
| 354        | holding ? in r. hand and cornucopiae in l.<br>. . . S I A . . .                              |
| 355        | holding cornucopiae in l. hand, transverse<br>sceptre in r. . . .PIL. . .                    |
| 356        | holding cornucopiae in l. hand, ? (caduceus) in r.<br>PVA . . .                              |
| 357        | holding cornucopiae in l. hand, r. hand lowered.   |
| 358        | holding cornucopiae in l. hand, wreath (?) in r.<br>C . . .                                  |
| 359        | holding cornucopiae in l. hand . . . . v   |
| 360        | Same type. . . .C P . . . . O . . .  |
| 361        | Same type. con, outwardly, on r. upwards.  |

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
362		.55	23.7 (1.54)	Bust draped.
363		.6	16.5 (1.07)	Bust draped.
364		.6	17.8 (1.15)	
365	VIII, 4	.65	17.7 (1.15)	
366		.6	18.3 (1.19)	. . . OST (?) . .
367		.55	32.2 (2.09)	
368		.6	24.4 (1.58)	
369		.5	9.1 (.59)	
370		.45	11.8 (.76)	Bust draped.
371	VIII, 5	.6	32.9 (2.13)	III. . . Bust draped.
372		.5	13.0 (.84)	Draped . . .ITEC
373		.55	19.1 (1.24)	. .RICVS . .
374		.55	20.1 (1.30)	. . .C IIIC . . . . Bust draped.
375	VIII, 6	.55	10.0 (.65)	IMP . . . . VS
376		.6	19.9 (1.29)	Bust draped.
377		.6	25.4 (1.65)	. . .RICVSA (?). .

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 362        | Same type. I, r. in field.  |
| 363        | Same type. —  |
| 364        | Same type. (double cornucopiae ?) . . .III. . .   |
| 365        | Same type. MIVI . . . on r., upwards, out-wardly.   |
| 366        | Same type. r. hand raised, holding ?  |
| 367        | holding cornucopiae (?) in l. hand, patera (?) in lowered r. 2 on l.  |
| 368        | Same type. vertical sceptre (?) in r. . . .AVG  |
| 369        | Same type. —  |
| 370        | Same type. r. hand raised . . . x II . . .  |
| 371        | holding corn-ears (?) downwards in r. hand over ? (prow of ship?), l. hand lowered over modius and corn-ears. |
| 372        | holding palm in l. hand, wreath (?) off flan in r.: winged (? Victory).                                       |
| 373        | holding patera in extended r. hand, l. arm at side.<br>C... O . . .R . . .                                    |
| 374        | holding patera in extended r. hand, vertical sceptre in l. E (?) low l.                                       |
| 375        | holding patera in extended r. hand, vertical sceptre in l. In l. field, X.                                    |
| 376        | holding patera (?) in lowered r. hand extended down with fingers spread. P . . .                              |
| 377        | holding patera in extended r. hand, ? in l.   |



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<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
378		.6	19.2 (1.24)	Draped. Youthful por- trait. . . .VC. . .
379		.65	28.5 (1.85)	. . .IRI. .
380		.65	15.5 (1.0)	. . . RVS . . .
381		.55	9.3 (.6)	
382		.55	18.0 (1.17)	Bust draped . . . . . .IC>IIN . . .
383		.55	14.5 (.94)	Bust draped . . .IMI
384		.4	12.3 (.8)	. . . D (?) I CV. . .
385		.55	21.8 (1.41)	
386		.65	14.7 (.95)	. . . .IN (?)
387		.6	21.9 (1.42)	. . . ~II . . .
388		.5	11.9 (.77)	
389		.6	18.1 (1.17)	
390		.55	14.1 (.91)	
391		.55	15.3 (.99)	
392		.55	13.8 (.89)	Bust draped (?)
393	VIII, 7	.65	23.8 (1.54)	
394		.65	26.3 (1.7)	

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>   |
|------------|--|
| 378        | holding patera in extended r. hand and gathering up skirt with l. . . .ITPV. . .       |
| 379        | holding rudder on ground in l. hand, ? (branch?) in r.                                 |
| 380        | holding rudder on ground in r. hand, and cornucopiae in l. Drapery curling out.        |
| 381        | holding vertical sceptre (or spear ?) in r. hand, and anchor on ground in l. . . . IOI |
| 382        | holding vertical sceptre in r. hand and cornucopiae in l. CΠN. . . IMI                 |
| 383        | holding vertical sceptre (? and wreath) in r. hand and cornucopiae in l. . . .C . . .  |
| 384        | holding vertical sceptre in r. hand; l. ∩ . . .  |
| 385        | holding vertical sceptre in r. hand, cornucopiae in l.                                 |
| 386        | holding vertical sceptre in r. hand.   |
| 387        | holding vertical sceptre in r. hand, cornucopiae in l.; low r., in field, x.           |
| 388        | holding vertical sceptre in r. hand, o on l, s on r.                                   |
| 389        | holding sceptre (nearly vertical) in r. hand, ? (branch?) in l. vv ∩ on l.             |
| 390        | holding vertical sceptre in r. hand.   |
| 391        | holding vertical sceptre (or spear) in r. hand and vertical palm in l. . . .x          |
| 392        | holding vertical sceptre (?) in r. hand and ? (cornucopiae) in l.                      |
| 393        | holding vertical sceptre against l. arm, r. arm extended, knee bent. . . .A.           |
| 394        | holding vertical sceptre in r. hand, ? in extended l.                                  |

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
395		.5	9.2 (.6)	Youthful head (?). Bust draped. PV . . . RICVSCV. .
396		.6	12.9 (.84)	? Portrait like Postumus.
397		.6	10.8 (.7)	ICII . . . Youthful head (?) Bust draped.
398		.65	34.1 (2.21)	I M P TET . . . .
399		.53	17.1 (1.11)	
400		.6	15.2 (.98)	. . .TE(?) . . .
401		.6	12.0 (.78)	IMPTET . . .
402		.6	9.3 (.6)	.A V P CT. . .
403		.6	17.8 (1.15)	
404	VIII, 8	.6	13.5 (.87)	
405		.55	16.9 (1.1)	. . .TTT . . .
406		.7	17.1 (1.11)	? Head like Postumus
407*	VIII, 9	.6	22.8 (1.48)	. . . . ~ . . .
408		.6	12.9 (.84)	Double-struck ?
409		.45	10.4 (.67)	

\* Same obv. and rev. dies as No. 412.

*No.**Reverse*

- 395 holding vertical sceptre in l. hand.
- 396 Same type. P v . . . (up on r.)
- 397 holding vertical sceptre in l. hand and ? in r.:  
(lower part of figure off flan) . . .IV
- 398 holding vertical sceptre in l. hand, ? in lowered  
and extended r. . . .VA C
- 399 holding vertical sceptre in l. hand, ? in lowered  
and extended r.
- 400 holding vertical sceptre (or anchor ?) in l. hand.
- 401 holding vertical sceptre in l. hand, r. hand raised.  
SI . . . OI
- 402 holding vertical sceptre in l. hand . . .s
- 403 holding vertical sceptre in l. hand, l. knee slightly  
bent . . . vōr
- 404 holding vertical sceptre (?) in l. hand. Note  
curious treatment of drapery.
- 405 holding vertical sceptre in l. hand (only top half  
of figure on flan).
- 406 holding ? (shield on ground) in r. hand, and  
straight spear and round shield in l. ? Hel-  
meted.
- 407 holding vertical spear in r. hand and small round  
shield (?) in l. Helmeted . . . Λ v v ΓI. . .
- 408 holding vertical spear and round shield (?) in l.  
hand, transverse sword (?) across body in r.
- 409 holding vertical spear reversed in l. hand.

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
410		.6	12.8 (.83)	Draped IN . . .
411		.65	13.3 (.86)	Draped . . . vs.
412*	VIII, 10	.6	19.8 (1.28)	Traces of letters.
413†	VIII, 11	.55	22.0 (.42)	Traces of letters
414‡	VIII, 12	.55	25.3 (1.64)	Traces of letters
414A§	VIII, 13	.6	20.2 (1.31)	Traces of letters (...VVIAA...)
415		.6	24.3 (1.57)	. . .AVG.
416		.7	23.0 (1.49)	. . .III . . .
417		.65	23.4 (1.52)	. . .CVSPIA . . .
418		.6	15.5 (1.0)	
419		.6	20.4 (1.32)	Draped IMPCV . . .
420		.75	22.6 (1.46)	Draped . . .v. . .
421		.55	11.6 (.75)	Draped (?) youthful por- trait . . .CVS AV.
422		.55	21.3 (1.38)	IMP . . . V

\* Same obv. and rev. dies as No. 407.

† Same obv. die as Nos. 414 and 414A. Same rev. die as No. 414A.

‡ Same obv. die as Nos. 413 and 414A.


§ Same obv. die as Nos. 413 and 414. Same rev. die as No. 413.

- No.*                      *Reverse*
- 410 holding vertical sceptre in r. hand, l. hand resting  
on ?, r. on ground . . .s. .v . . . c, l. in  
field.
- 411 holding vertical sceptre in r. hand, with knob at  
top, ? in l. . . . VI . . . V . . . A
- 412 holding vertical spear in r. hand, l. hand lowered,  
fingers extended. Helmeted. Traces of letters.
- 413 Same type. Traces of letters.
- 414 Same type. No helmet. . . .IIIIV. . .
- 414A (? helmeted) . . . II IV AII I . . .
- 415 holding out r. hand over altar (?) l. in field, and  
holding vertical sceptre in l. hand . . . NI
- 416 holding vertical sceptre in l. hand I . . . Border  
of spikes.
- 417 holding vertical sceptre in l. hand and ? (patera?)  
in r. . . .v c.
- 418 holding vertical sceptre in l. hand (sceptre  
apparently double).
- 419 holding transverse sceptre in l. hand  
. . .VA . . .
- 420 raising r. hand (holding ?) and holding transverse  
? (sceptre?) in l. . . .VIC
- 421 holding wreath (?) up in r. hand and vertical  
sceptre in l. x in field.
- 422 holding vertical spear in r. hand, round shield  
on l. arm (?). Helmeted. . . . NV PMN. . .

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
423		.55	14.3 (.93)	
424		.6	15.3 (.99)	Bust draped (?) IMP. . .
425		.7	18.2 (1.18)	Bust draped
426		.6	22.0 (.43)	. . . .TITI . . .
427		.55	13.6 (.88)	
428		.6	17.8 (1.15)	Bust draped. CI. . . M
429		.6	12.0 (.78)	Bust draped . . .sc
430		.55	13.2 (.86)	Bust draped . . .RICV. . .
431		.65	13.5 (.87)	Bust draped IMPC TE. . . AVG
432		.6	17.4 (1.13)	. .M. .P TITRICVS A. . .
433		.65	32.6 (2.11)	
434		.6	26.4 (1.71)	. . . .SC . . .
435		.6	19.3 (1.25)	
436	VIII, 14	.6	15.3 (.99)	
437		.65	20.7 (1.34)	Youthful head . . . TRICSV (?) . .
438		.55	13.8 (.89)	Bust draped . . . SPFAVG

- No.*                      *Reverse*
- 423 holding snake (?) in both hands across body.  
     . . . VPI . . .
- 424 holding anchor on ground in l. hand, ? (wreath ?)  
     in extended r.
- 425 ? holding anchor on ground in l. hand and ?  
     (wreath ?) in extended r. . . . ΛΛ . . . .  
     Double-struck.
- 426 holding anchor on ground in l. hand and wreath  
     (?) in extended r.
- 427 holding anchor on ground in l. hand and wreath  
     (?) in extended r.
- 428 holding anchor on ground in l. hand and ? in r.
- 429 holding anchor on ground (or straight sceptre ?)  
     in l. hand.
- 430 holding wreath (?) in extended r. hand IA . . .
- 431 holding up wreath in r. hand, ? in lowered l.
- 432 holding anchor on ground in l. hand and ?  
     (wreath ?) in extended r.
- 433 holding wreath (?) in extended r. hand, ? in l.
- 434 holding wreath (?) in extended r. hand, l. arm  
     lowered . . . I. . .
- 435 holding wreath (?) in raised r. hand, and palm  
     in l.
- 436 holding °|° (?) in r. hand and ? in l. Radiate. ∪,  
     high on r.
- 437 holding c in r. hand and ? in l.
- 438 holding wreath (?) in r. hand, anchor (?) in l.  
     ~ . . . C



<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
439		.6	11.9 (.77)	
440		.65	34.9 (2.26)	. . . O  IIIC. . .
441		.55	6.3 (.41)	Bust draped . . . .IIICC
442		.6	16.7 (1.08)	
443		.6	17.8 (1.15)	. . . VSPS . . .
444		.65	16.7 (1.08)	IMP TERICV . . .
445	VIII, 15	.45	10.1 (.65)	Bust draped (?)
446		.6	19.3 (1.25)	I I I I A N I • III . . .
447		.5	13.1 (.85)	
448		.55	9.8 (.64)	. . . . SP . . .
449		.65	23.2 (1.5)	. . . VAV . . .
450		.6	27.4 (1.78)	
451		.6	10.4 (.67)	Bust draped and cui- rassed. . .R (?) vsI
452		.6	13.3 (.86)	Youthful head (?)
453	IX, 1	.6	11.1 (.72)	. . . LL (?) vs (?) A. . . Features of Quintillus.
454		.55	21.6 (1.4)	Bust draped . . .S.VG.

- No.*                      *Reverse*
- 439 holding ? transversely (upwards to l.) across body  
in r. hand, l. arm extended, fingers spread.  
    . . . I I I .
- 440 holding ? in raised r. hand, ? (cornucopiae?)  
in l.: (only part of figure showing) . . . C S I .
- 441 holding ? in r. hand and ? (long caduceus ?) in l.  
(only lower part of figure showing).
- 442 holding ? in r. hand, l. hand down with fingers  
extended. IXIIV. . . IVII.
- 443 holding ? in r. hand and ? (corn-ear) in l. . . . I C
- 444 holding ? in r. hand and ?, spear nearly vertical,  
- in l.
- 445 holding ? in lowered r. hand, arrow (?) in l.  
(curved lines)
- 446 holding ? in r. hand, (wreath ?) in lowered l.  
hand . . . . C
- 447 holding ? (wreath) downwards in r. hand.
- 448 holding ? (\\) in r. hand, l. hand lowered over  
altar (?)
- 449 holding ? in r. hand, and ? (snake ?) in l. \* l. in  
field, N . . . .
- 450 holding up ? (wreath) in r. hand, and ∪ in l.  
    . . . A. . .
- 451 holding ? across body in both hands . . . v s
- 452 holding ? (torch ?) across body in both hands.
- 453 both arms lowered (only top half of figure shown)
- 454 Same type.

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
455		.65	25.6 (1.66)	. . . VTTI . . .
456		.55	16.5 (1.07)	
457		.5	23.6 (1.53)	Bust draped.
458	IX, 2	.65	21.0 (1.36)	Bust draped
459		.65	24.3 (1.57)	. . . AIDIIIIISPIF . . . IMP . . . Star (?) behind head.
460		.6	15.4 (1.0)	
461		.6	13.8 (.89)	. . . I TRIC . . .

---

*Uncertain.*

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462		.65	13.0 (.84)	Draped diademed (?) l. Traces of good lettering.
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*G. Advancing l.*

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463		.6	22.8 (.48)	Draped ADI. . .
464		.65	44.5 (2.88)	
465	IX, 3	.55	14.9 (.97)	. . . .P PROBUS . . .
466	IX, 4	.55	24.1 (1.56)	
467		.55	22.1 (1.43)	Doublestruck.

- | <i>No.</i>                       | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 455                              | holding ? in extended r. hand, ? (anchor) in l. hand.                               |
| 456                              | raising r. hand, radiate (?) . . . IV. . .  |
| 457                              | raising r. hand, holding ? (⌒-bow) in l.  |
| 458                              | resting l. arm on column . . . VTQ  |
| 459                              | holding ? (patera ?) in lowered l. hand and cornucopiae in r.                       |
| 460                              | r. hand lowered, holding cornucopiae (?) in l.                                      |
| 461                              | holding ? in extended r. hand, e (?) l. in field.                                   |
| <hr/>                            |   |
| 462                              | Juno standing l., holding patera in r. hand, and vertical sceptre in l.: peacock l. |
| <hr/>                            |   |
| <i>'Male' figure (undraped).</i> |   |
| <hr/>                            |   |
| 463                              | extending r. hand, holding ? and long palm in l.<br>. . . IIQ . . .                 |
| 464                              | remains of Spes standing l., holding flower and raised skirt (?) . . . OP.E         |
| 465                              | holding ? in extended r. hand. x̄ in l., ∪ on r. in field.                          |
| 466                              | holding spear (?) across body in both hands.  |
| 467                              | r. hand lowered, l. arm extended PII. . .<br>Double-struck (?)                      |

*Advancing left:*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
468	IX, 5	.65	18.3 (.19)	Draped vi . . .v
469		.65	33.0 (2.14)	Draped. Mullet (?) in front of nose ADACH . . .
470		.6	19.1 (1.24)	
471	IX, 6	.6	26.3 (1.7)	. . . IAD . . .

*'Female' figures*

472		.6	15.2 (.98)	
473		.6	9.5 (.62)	Draped . . . TETRIC
474		.7	16.9 (1.1)	. . .PE. . .
475		.65	20.6 (1.33)	Draped IMPC. . .

*Seated*

476	IX, 7	.55	20.3 (1.32)	
-----	-------	-----	----------------	--

*Various—*

477*	IX, 8	.75	28.9 (1.87)	. . .P(?) ILV (?)s
478†	IX, 9	.65	24.7 (1.6)	EVN. . .V . . .

\* Same obv. (?) and rev. dies as Nos. 508 and 509.

† Same obv. and rev. dies as No. 479.

*'male' figure (undraped).*

- 
- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 468        | holding round object in raised l. hand, o on l., s.<br>on r. (derived from INVICTVS ?)  |
| 469        | holding round object (?) in extended r. hand and<br>? in l. ON . . . M                  |
| 470        | both arms extended, holding ? in r. hand.   |
| 471        | Female figure (draped) holding ? (wreath with<br>bands) in r. hand, ? on shoulder in l. |
- 

*(draped).*

- 
- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| 472 | holding up flower (?) in r. hand and gathering up<br>skirt with l.; in r. field, α.        |
| 473 | holding out ? in r. hand; l. arm seems to rest on<br>rim of shield set on ground . . . AVG |
| 474 | holding ? (wreath) in r. hand and ? (palm) in l.<br>(Victory ?)                            |
| 475 | Same type. (Victory ?)   |
- 

*Right.*

- 
- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| 476 | on throne, radiate. Position of hands uncertain<br>. . . CPC . . . |
|-----|--|
- 

*Animals, etc.*

- 
- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| 477 | Horse with pole, as if harnessed to chariot (?), r. |
| 478 | Stag r.   |
-

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
479*	IX, 10	.5	15.0 (.97)	. . . RV} . . .
480	IX, 11	.55	22.1 (1.43)	. . . ROC. . .
481	IX, 12	.5	18.5 (1.2)	
482	IX, 13	.55	21.3 (1.38)	
483		.55	11.4 (.74)	
484		.55	8.7 (.56)	Double-struck
485		.4	9.8 (.64)	
486	IX, 14	.55	27.5 (1.78)	
487		.55	6.5 (.42)	
<hr/>				
				<i>Temple.</i>
488	IX, 15	.65	34.3 (2.22)	IIIDIC C . . . IIX
489		.6	17.3 (1.12)	. . . R . . .
490	X, 1	.6	10.9 (.71)	
<hr/>				
				<i>Uncertain.</i>
491		.55	8.8 (.57)	
492	X, 2	.55	26.3 (1.7)	. . . OBVS . . .

\* Same obv. and rev. dies as No. 478.

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 479        | Stag r.   |
| 480        | Stag r. . . . CO . . .                                      |
| 481        | Stag (?) r.   |
| 482        | Stag l. . . . IA . . .                                      |
| 483        | Stag l.   |
| 484        | Stag l. (?) . . . CO \ / VI . . .                           |
| 485        | Bird r.   |
| 486        | Bird front, head r. (?)                                     |
| 487        | Bird r. (?)   |
| <hr/>      |   |
| 488        | Tetrastyle temple with pediment. Traces of legend.          |
| 480        | Distyle temple. Altar (?) and standing figure (?) in front. |
| 490        | Distyle temple: within, altar. Above, IIIA. . .             |
| <hr/>      |   |
| 491        | remains of standing figure (?) or galley r. (?)             |
| 492        | remains of standing figure (?) or galley r. (?)             |
|            | CVP   |



94 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
493	X, 3	.55	16.9 (1.1)	IMP . . . TRICV2
494	X, 4	.45	12.1 (.78)	
<hr/>				
<i>Crosses, etc.</i>				
495	X, 5	.55	31.2 (2.02)	Bust draped. No legend.
496		.55	16.8 (1.09)	
497	X, 6	.55	22.3 (1.45)	
498	X, 7	.55	19.4 (1.26)	. . . IEAIC . . .
499	X, 8	.65	15.9 (1.03)	Bust draped AP . . . IVG
<hr/>				
<i>Patterns.</i>				
500		.5	16.6 (1.08)	Border of large dots.
501	X, 9	.55	23.3 (1.51)	. . . IC . . .
502		.6	12.4 (.8)	. . . CUIA (?) . . .
503		.55	9.4 (.61)	. . . OA X
504		.6	23.1 (1.5)	
505		.5	10.5 (.68)	
506		.35	10.8 (.7)	

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>   |
|------------|--|
| 493        | Altar (?) In the place of legend, ]]]] on all sides.   |
| 494        | Uncertain object (Hand l. ?) IIIIIII round edge.   |
| <hr/>      |  |
| 495        | Cross with a pellet in each angle. No legend.  |
| 496        | Cross (Latin) in wreath.   |
| 497        | Cross (Latin), partly in circle.   |
| 498        | Figure like cross (Greek), with additional lines attached to limb, (? a broken-up figure, stylized). |
| 499        | Figure standing l., in process of being stylized as a cross-like pattern . . . T(?). .V. .           |
| <hr/>      |  |
| 500        | p. 109, fig. 1 (Peculiar)  |
| 501        | p. 109, fig. 2 (Peculiar) Figure derived from trophy and captives (?) . . . TV. .                    |
| 502        | p. 109, fig. 3 (Peculiar) Spidery design.  |
| 503        | p. 109, fig. 4 (Peculiar) Part of standing figure and border (?).                                    |
| 504        | p. 109, fig. 5 (Peculiar) Derived from standing figure (?) . . . VIT(?) . . . III                    |
| 505        | p. 109, fig. 6 (Peculiar) Top part of figure (?)   |
| 506        | p. 109, fig. 7 (Peculiar) Top part of figure (?)   |

96 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
507	X, 10	.6	22.1 (1.43)	Head l. . . . iirs . . .
508*	X, 11	.55	25.4 (1.68)	Draped. Youthful por- trait . . . cvs.
509†	X, 12	.5	18.3 (1.19)	
510	X, 13	.55	26.8 (1.74)	. . . CPCIDC (r. to l. out- wardly)
511		.5	21.8 (1.41)	Draped, youthful por- trait
512		.45	15.4 (1.0)	Draped . . . ISNC.
<hr/>				
				<i>Stylized</i>
513		.6	17.5 (1.13)	
514	X, 14	.6	30.6 (1.98)	
515		.55	12.1 (.78)	
516		.5	14.9 (.97)	
517		.45	9.7 (.63)	. . . v(?)vv. . .
518		.55	11.4 (.74)	. . . oi 7(?)c. . .
519	X, 15	.5	17.1 (1.11)	. . . DIVSPF . . .

\* Same obv. (?) and rev. dies as No. 477. Same obv. die (?) as No. 509.

† Same obv. and rev. die as No. 477. Same obv. die (?) as No. 508.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
507 p. 109, fig. 8	(Peculiar)
508 p. 109, fig. A	Peculiar A. Same rev. die as 509.
509 p. 109, fig. A	Peculiar A. Same rev. die as 508.
510 p. 109, fig. B	Peculiar B. Stylized figure standing l. holding up branch. Border of strokes.
511 p. 109, fig. C	Peculiar C. Remains of Fides standing l., holding standards.
512 p. 109, fig. D	Peculiar D. Remains of stylized figure holding branch (?); ? E l. in field.

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*Figures.*

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513 p. 109, fig. 9	(Peculiar) Standing figure (?)
514 p. 109, fig. 10	(Peculiar) Pattern-like treatment of body of standing figure.
515 p. 109, fig. 11	(Peculiar) Standing figure (?)
516 p. 109, fig. 12	(Peculiar) Standing figure (?)
517 p. 109, fig. 13	Linear treatment of figure advancing l. (?)
518 p. 109, fig. 14	(Peculiar) Stiff standing figure (?) s M (?) . . IV . . .
519 p. 109, fig. 15	(Peculiar) Figure standing r. c IIIIIIIIII

98 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

A few coins show some features of interest on obverse,

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
520		.65	24.0 (1.55)	Long bust (radiate ?) I . . .ICI . . .
521		.75	22.1 (1.43)	Long head CD. . .D(?) vs High in field r., I. Double-struck.
522		.7	35.5 (2.30)	Bust draped. Features of Probus (?)
523		.65	20.0 (1.27)	. . .CII (?) CSNV. .
524		.55	7.7 (.50)	Youthful head (?) CPIVI . . .
525		.55	7.8 (.51)	Small head, with curious angular features. Two pellets below bust.
526		.5	13.9 (.90)	. . . ORIV . . .
527		.55	22.1 (1.43)	IMPT . .

*Two-Figure Types.*

1. (a) *Warrior spearing horseman*

528	XI, 1	.55	20.4 (.32)	. . .IVII . . .
-----	-------	-----	---------------	-----------------

(b) *obv. Radiate.*

529	XI, 2	.55	33.2 (2.15)	. . .ITI . . .
-----	-------	-----	----------------	----------------

but no reverses that can be accurately described.

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
520	. . . CIA . . . (outwardly)
521	Female figure standing l.: altar l. (?) Double-struck.
522	
523	
524	. . . . sv (?). . .
525	
526	
527	(spear held in r. hand of figure ?)

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(*'Fel. Temp. Reparatio' type*).

---

528	Warrior standing l., driving down spear at some object at his feet l. Broken border of large dots.
-----	--

---

*Derived types on rev.*

---

529	Warrior standing l., with r. hand driving down spear, with two points (?): round shield (?) on l. arm. . . . OH . . . (It is uncertain whether there was any object at his feet l.)
-----	---

100 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
530	XI, 3	.55	20.9 (1.35)	. . .O. . .OO. . .
531	XI, 4	.55	19.9 (1.29)	. . . VM . . .
532	XI, 5	.55	17.6 (1.14)	
533		.55	22.4 (1.45)	Radiate head r. over- struck (? on figure standing or advancing l.)
534	XI, 6	.55	15.6 (1.01)	. . . PVS . . .

---



Two other coins, very badly worn  
2. (a) *Warrior dragging captive l.*

---

535	XI, 7	.65	24.4 (1.58)	. . .V.CT.A. . .
536*	XI, 8	.65	21.3 (1.38)	
537†	XI, 9	.55	25.6 (1.66)	
538	XI, 10	.7	24.4 (1.58)	. . . NIDH . . .

\* Same rev. die (?) as No. 538.

† Same rev. die (?) as No. 537.

- | <i>No.</i> | <i>Reverse</i>  |
|------------|---|
| 530        | Warrior standing l., with r. hand driving down spear at prostrate figure (captive or animal) at feet l., and holding branch downwards in l. hand.   |
| 531        | As on No. 530, but no trace of prostrate figure, though it might be off the flan.  c on r.   |
| 532        | Warrior standing l., with r. hand driving down spear and holding stick (or club) in l.<br><div style="text-align: center;">. . . .  . . .</div> (It is uncertain whether there was any object at his feet) |
| 533        | Warrior standing l., with r. hand driving down spear. (Very worn, but the r. hand and spear seem certain: it is uncertain whether there was object at his feet l.)  |
| 534        | Small figure to l. of flan, raising l. arm, r. arm downwards; traces of horse's head. (There seems to be room for warrior on the r.)  |

---

perhaps show similar reverse types.

(*'Gloria Romanorum' type*).

---

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| 535 | Warrior advancing r., with r. hand dragging small figure and holding vertical spear in l.                         |
| 536 | As on No. 535, but badly worn.  |
| 537 | As on No. 535, but there are only faint traces of captive. . . .v. . .  |
| 538 | Warrior advancing r., holding vertical spear in l. hand; with r. hand he carries captive, held off the ground (?) |



102 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
539		.6	30.3 (1.96)	
540	XI, 11	.55	18.7 (1.21)	
541		.45	13.9 (.9)	

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(b) *Warrior dragging captive l.*

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542	XI, 12	.55	20.8 (1.35)	Doublestruck
543	XI, 13	.65	35.4 (2.29)	
544	XI, 14	.5	9.4 (.61)	
545	XI, 15	.55	14.2 (.92)	

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One other worn coin possibly

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3. *Warrior dragging or leading smaller figure (Derived*

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546	XII, 1	.6	14.6 (.95)	
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*No.**Reverse*

- 539 As on No. 535 (?), but details obscure
- 540 Warrior advancing r., with r. hand dragging small figure, r. hand raised. \*, r. in field.
- 541 Warrior advancing r., with r. hand dragging small figure (?) l. hand lowered (?)
- ..... ○ .....

*(derived from 2a.—?).*

- 542 Warrior advancing l., r. hand raised, holding ? (off flan) and dragging animal (?) with l. hand.
- 543 Warrior advancing l., r. foot raised, r. knee bent, holding vertical spear in r. hand and dragging captive (?) with l.
- 544 Warrior advancing l., r. hand extended, holding ? (off flan) and dragging captive (?) in l. Large star (?) r., in field.
- 545 Warrior advancing l., r. hand extended, holding ? and dragging captive (?) with l. (The interpretation of this type is uncertain. There is an obscure object, ? l. in field, and the captive (?) is quite uncertain.)

shows a similar reverse.

*from 'Gloria Romanorum' or 'Fel. Temp. Reparatio.'*

- 546 Warrior advancing r., l. hand raised, r. elbow bent; with r. hand dragging or leading smaller figure r. (details very obscure: the pose is not quite that of the ordinary 'Gloria Romanorum')

## 104 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

4. *Various.*


---

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
547	XII, 14	.65	27.7 (1.79)	VSVICA . . . AV
548	XII, 3	.55	15.8 (1.02)	Bust draped: l. (?)
549	XII, 4	.51	10.5 (.68)	
550	XII, 5	.5	9.2 (.6)	IMP C PROB (?). . .
551	XII, 6	.45	7.5 (.49)	. . .IV. . .
552	XII, 7	.55	11.7 (.76)	
553	XII, 8	.55	14.9 (.97)	. . . .IA. Features of Postumus (?)
554	XII, 9	.6	26.4 (1.71)	

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5. *Various.*


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555	XII, 10	.85	69.5 (4.5)	. . .IIT IIAVI. . .
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*To right.**No.**Reverse*

- 547 Large figure standing r., r. hand lowered, l. hand raised; on l., animal (?); on r., smaller figure standing r., holding ? in raised r. hand.  
 . . . DC. Double-struck.
- 548 Warrior standing r., r. hand lowered, in front of him, on r., figure kneeling front, head r. (?), extending r. hand and holding ? (round shield) on l. . . .V. . . .
- 549 Warrior advancing r., r. hand lowered, holding ? (arrow) in l.; at his feet r. helmeted figure sprawling on ground (?).
- 550 Warrior standing r., holding vertical sword (?) in r. hand; to r., smaller figure kneeling (?).
- 551 Man advancing r.; facing him, on r., bird standing l. . . .II
- 552 Man advancing r., driving smaller figure, with arms outstretched, before him.
- 553 Warrior advancing r., holding ? in lowered r. hand and bow (?) in l.; to r., smaller figure kneeling r. Traces of worn letters.
- 554 Man standing front, head r., with r. hand thrusting down figure sprawling on ground l., l. arm lowered. Uncouth linear figure, with long arms like an ape.

*To left.*

- 555 Warrior standing l., raising r. hand and holding vertical standard with *vexillum* (or *labarum* ?) in l.: to l., captive kneeling on ground (?)  
 v. . . ☉ under standard.

106 THE RICHBOROUGH HOARD

<i>No.</i>	<i>Plate</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Wt.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
556	XII, 11	.6	31.3 (2.03)	NCIVO. . .
557	XII, 12	.6	17.8 (1.15)	

---

6. *Various.*

---

558	XII, 13	.55	16.8 (1.09)	
559	XII, 2	.6	24.4 (1.58)	Large features . . .v. . .
560		.55	23.6 (1.53)	. . .VICT. . .
561		.55	25.4 (1.65)	
562		.6	28.9 (1.87)	
563		.6	36.5 (2.37)	

*No.**Reverse*

- 556 Warrior standing l. (?) holding small figure (?)  
off ground in r. hand and vertical spear in l.  
Traces of uncertain letters.
- 557 Warrior standing l., r. hand raised (?) holding  
vertical spear in l.: to l. serpent (?)

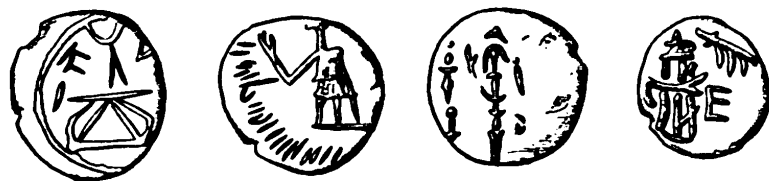
*Frontal.*

- 558 Two small figures, both with arms raised above  
heads, standing front, side by side . . . IM . . .  
Star r., in field.
- 559 Female figure standing l., holding corn-ears in r.  
hand and vertical sceptre in l.; to l., a smaller  
figure standing front, with arms extended and  
slightly raised. DXE. . .A. . .
- 560 Figure on extreme l. of the flan, standing r.,  
apparently requiring to be balanced by  
similar figure on r. (obliterated). ('Gloria  
Exercitus' type (?) )
- 561 p. 109, fig. 16 Confused type, representing two  
warriors meeting in combat (?). (Peculiar)
- 562 p. 109, fig. 17 Confused type, representing two  
warriors meeting in combat, one holding spear,  
one round shield (?). (Peculiar)
- 563 Man standing front, on r., holding vertical spear  
in r. hand. Doubtful traces of what was  
perhaps a second figure on l.

## APPENDIX A

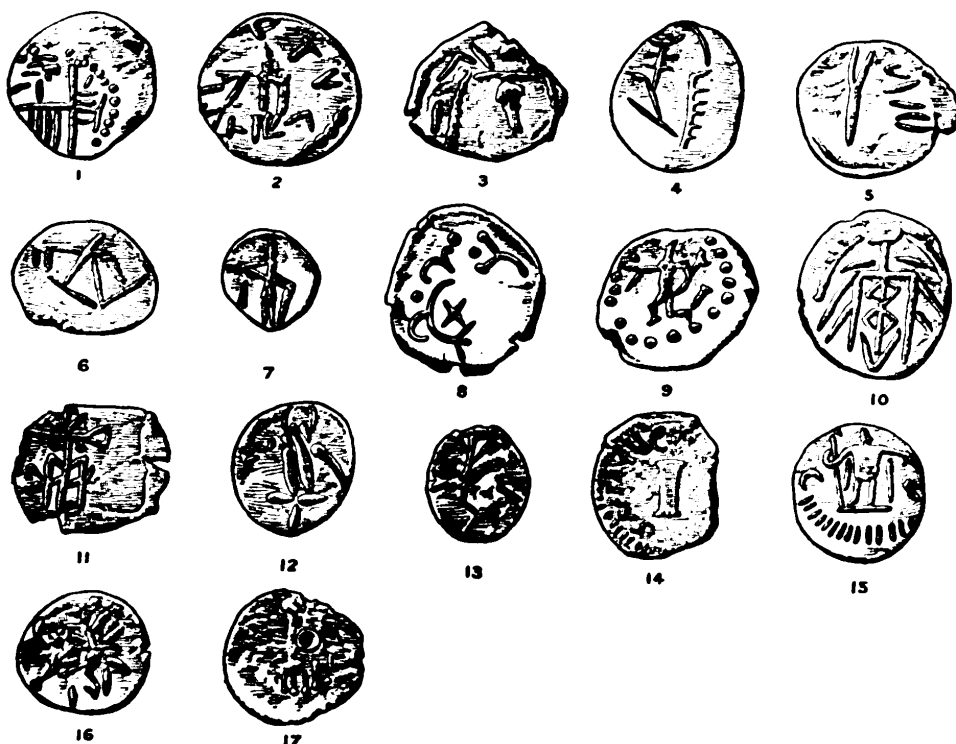
(SEE PLATES XII–XIV)

Plates XII(end)–XIV(beginning) illustrate a number of barbarous radiates in the British Museum, which, at one point or another, seem to touch the Richborough hoard. The provenance of Pl. XIII, 3—the only one for which we have information—was Richborough. It seems unnecessary to add full descriptions where all are illustrated. The obverse of Pl. XII, 15, has part of the name of Victorinus; the obverses of Pl. XIII, 2, 5, and XIV, 4, make some kind of an attempt at the name of Tetricus I. Many of the reverses cannot be referred to any known original. But Pl. XIII, 1, shows a Pax type, Pl. XIII, 2, a Pietas, Pl. XIII, 3 and 4, Priestly Emblems (PIETAS AVGG. type), Pl. XIII, 5, a Spes, Pl. XIV, 2, a cross, Pl. XIV, 4, a temple. Pl. XIII, 9, and XIV, 7, are of peculiar interest. Pl. XIII, 9, shows a radiate head l., with an obscure reverse, traces of barbarous lettering on both sides, overstruck on a GLORIA EXERCITUS, two soldiers, type of the late Constantinian period, c. A. D. 330–340. Pl. XIV, 7, shows a crude head, r., apparently radiate, with rev. Warrior on horseback r., brandishing spear, overstruck on what was probably, but not quite certainly, a coin of about the same date as the original of Pl. XIII, 9. A comparison of these Plates with Plates I to XII will reveal noteworthy similarities of style in a number of points. The time is nearly ripe for a full discussion of this fascinating, but enigmatic coinage.



A B C D

# PECULIARS







## APPENDIX B

### ON THE RELATION OF SCEATTAS TO THE RICHBOROUGH COINS

BY DEREK ALLEN

In their analysis of the Richborough radiate hoard, Messrs. Mattingly and Stebbing have pointed out that there occur in it types which do not go back to any Roman prototype. They have suggested that these coins may be the earliest attempts at original design by the Jutes who accompanied Hengist and Horsa. The evidence which Mr. Mattingly has brought forward from the side of Roman coins is strikingly confirmed on the side of Anglo-Saxon.

If the date proposed is correct, it would be reasonable to expect some relationship between the types of the Richborough coins and of the earliest of the Anglo-Saxon thrymsas and sceattas. Although a general date for the whole series from 600 to 750 A. D.<sup>15</sup> is well established, it is unfortunate that the fifty or sixty known types have never been arranged chronologically within these limits; it is as yet impossible to say precisely which of them are the earliest. An appendix such as this is not the place to indulge in new and speculative classifications. It may, however, fairly be said that the majority of thrymsa and sceatta types use decorative motives which occur on other Anglo-Saxon objects.<sup>16</sup> There are, nevertheless, a few types whose designs cannot be found elsewhere in contemporary art; most of

<sup>15</sup> Brooke, "English Coins." p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Baldwin Brown, "The Arts in Early England," pp. 56-113.

these designs are derived directly or mediately from Roman coin types. Those which are directly derived do not concern us here; but there exist sceattas which, though they obviously stand in some relation to Roman coins, are so far from the original as to imply a lost intermediate stage. It is more than a fortunate coincidence that the Richborough hoard provides us with some of these intermediate stages.

Against this view it might be urged that the heads on the majority of sceattas are derived from Constantinian or Theodosian models. I do not think that the objection is valid because in the sixth and seventh centuries the only silver coins with which the inhabitants of England are likely to have been familiar, are *siliquae*.<sup>17</sup> When striking a silver coinage, they may well have preferred diademed heads, while for copper coins they copied the commoner radiate models. A few thrymsas and sceattas actually have radiate heads, and on the earlier specimens of this class, (Pl. XV, 8 and 9), the head is represented in a manner extraordinarily similar to that on one coin in this hoard, Pl. V, 10.

In preparing their lists Messrs. Mattingly and Stebbing have wisely refrained from recording the fabric of the coins, since no verbal description is ever adequate. There are, however, considerable differences in fabric in the hoard, differences so marked as to be visible even in the plates. It was most noticeable in handling the coins that those which were

<sup>17</sup> In the British Museum collection there are no barbarous copies of radiate coins in silver, whereas Constantinian silver was frequently copied.

most closely related to the sceattas in design were of a distinctive fabric. The coins were rounder, flatter and perhaps thicker than the majority of the hoard. Their designs were indicated more by line drawing than by relief. In almost every case a beaded circle had replaced the traces of the legends on obverse and reverse, a feature which recurs on sceattas. These circles were often considerably narrower than the diameter of the coin, and became an important part of the design. See for example, Pl. VI, 10; VII, 6, 10; X, 5.

On Plates XIV–XV are twenty examples of gold and silver Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian coins, chosen for the relationship they bear to the Richborough coins.

The first series, Pl. XIV, 8–12, have been chosen to illustrate the use of radiate heads on thrymsas and sceattas. The obverse of Pl. XIV, 8, a thrymsa,<sup>18</sup> is remarkably similar to Pl. V, 10, though one is beardless and the other bearded. This type of head occurs also on sceattas such as Pl. XIV, 9; the earliest bear the meaningless legend TIC, though this is later replaced by Runic legends, as on Pl. XIV, 10 and 11.<sup>19</sup> Pl. XIV, 12 is possibly a Merovingian coin; it is included to show how confused the derivation of the obverse had become in the sixth century. The obverse of this coin clearly belongs to the same class as the others in the row. It even has the same

<sup>18</sup> The reverse type of this coin, the clasped hands, also occurs on barbarous radiates from Richborough, though none occurred in this hoard.

<sup>19</sup> The obverse of Pl. XIV, 11 has been mounted on the plate at the wrong angle.

legend as Pl. XIV, 9. There is, however, no trace of the radiate crown.

The sceatta, Pl. XV, 1 represents on the obverse a female centaur holding two palm branches. This curious subject is derived probably from the LEG II PARTH coins of Carausius, and is without parallel in Anglo-Saxon art. The type has, however, diverged somewhat widely from the original, and the presence of the palm branches may have been suggested by the horns of a stag on a coin such as Pl. IX, 13, itself derived from one of the legionary coins of Gallienus. It would then be an instance of the conflation of two earlier types, a process which often occurs on sceattas.

Pl. XV, 2, is an example of the well-known wolf and twins sceatta. The obverse is clearly copied directly from a Roman original. The reverse, however, which depicts a bird in an upright position between two vines, has no Roman prototype. The arrangement of the design is similar to that of the standing figures in the rest of the row. A bird pecking at grapes is a well-known Christian emblem and occurs somewhat later on the Ruthwell Cross. The general design, however, appears to be taken from a coin such as Pl. III, 11 where the sacrificial jug has assumed a form almost identical with this bird. A similar treatment of the human body occurs on Pl. XV, 4.

The next five sceattas, Pl. XV, 3-7, illustrate varieties of standing figures, some of which have remarkable analogies with the Richborough coins. Compare, for instance, Pl. VI, 10 with Pl. XV, 6 for

the curled arms; Pl. VII, 6 and 7 with Pl. XV, 5 and 6 for the body and dress; Pl. VII, 10 with Pl. XV, 7 and 8 for the breasts; Pl. I, 14 with Pl. XV, 3; Pl. VII, 12, with Pl. XV, 5; Pl. X, 15 with Pl. XV, 4 for the exergual line, with Pl. XV, 6 for the arms. Pl. XV, 8 shows a two figure type such as Pl. XII, 15.

Pl. XV, 9, is a thrymsa and is presumably amongst the earliest coins of the series. Though very different in style from the other representations of the human body in this plate, it too has analogies in the Richborough hoard. Compare for instance Pl. V, 10 or Pl. IX, 1.

Pl. XV, 10 was included to illustrate from sceattas the tendency to revolving designs which is shown on some of the Richborough coins such as Pl. V, 1.

The Richborough coins provide an important link in the derivation of the "altar" or "standard" type of sceatta reverse, illustrated in Pl. XIV, 9, 10, 11, and XV, 8. It has always been known from the inscription T O T X X or T O T I I, which appears on the less barbarous varieties, that the type was derived from either the altar or the standard of various Roman coins. On sceattas, however, the type is both stereotyped and far from the original. The Richborough coins show how this may have come about; Pl. I, 2-5 illustrate various misunderstandings of the altar. Pl. I, 2 even shows five pellets arranged precisely as are the letters in Pl. XIV, 9.

Messrs. Mattingly and Stebbing have stressed the importance of the cross which occurs on the reverse of the coins Pl. X, 5, 6 and 7. This type,

though undoubtedly un-Roman, does not in fact occur in the same form on sceattas. There is a common type, Pl. XV, 13, on which a cross occurs surmounted by a bird.<sup>20</sup> Similar crosses, however, occur on gold Merovingian coins of the seventh century, of which Pl. XV, 11 and 12 are examples; they also occur on some of the earliest thrymsas such as Pl. XV, 14 and 15.<sup>21</sup>

It must be admitted, then, that some relationship exists between the designs of the Richborough coins and the sceattas. So marked is this that it would not, to my mind, be adequate to say that the two series were struck at widely different points in the same artistic period. The artists of the thrymsas and sceattas must, I think, have seen and handled coins similar to those in this hoard. If this is so, it has somewhat drastic consequences on the dating of the hoard.

The hoard which is the subject of this monograph is not the only barbarous hoard from Richborough. There has also been found in the uppermost layer a hoard of 'minimissimi' derived from Constantinian and Theodosian types.<sup>22</sup> These coins are of extraordinarily small size, and some of them are of metal so debased as to be barely distinguishable from lead. Fragments cut from earlier coins were found with them. There can be no doubt that these coins represent the last stage in the direct tradition of

<sup>20</sup> The reverse of this coin has been mounted on the plate at the wrong angle.

<sup>21</sup> The majority of thrymsas in the Crondall Hoard, buried not long after 610 A. D., have crosses on the reverse.

<sup>22</sup> Unpublished; kindly shown me by Mr. Stebbing, the finder.

Roman coinage. They must have been struck at a time when metal was of almost fabulous scarcity. By the time the radiate hoard was buried, conditions had completely altered. Copper was no longer scarce and the continuous tradition of Roman coinage had now been broken. Moneyers copied not the last coins in circulation, but any chance coins they found. There must therefore have been some gap in time between the burial of the two hoards. Given such a gap, the degree of fidelity to Roman models provides no indication of its length. The only internal evidence of date which the hoard presents, is the relationship which some coins in it bear to sceattas. It would be impossible to date any Anglo-Saxon thrymsas or sceattas much before 600 at the earliest. There is no intrinsic reason why the coins in this hoard should have been struck nearer 500 A. D. than 600 A. D. It has often been supposed that the peoples of England in the fifth and sixth centuries used Roman copper coins which they had dug up or imitated.<sup>23</sup> The analogies between the Richborough coins and the sceattas suggest very strongly that this hoard provides a sample of the coins in question. Messrs. Mattingly and Stebbing have suggested that the hoard represents the money which Hengist and Horsa brought with them. I prefer the bolder hypothesis that the latest of these coins belong to the age of Augustin.

<sup>23</sup> Brooke, "English Coins," p. 2:—"In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Roman copper coins, whether surviving as currency or dug up as treasure from the earth, doubtless circulated with barbarous imitations to serve the monetary requirements of the invading and invaded peoples."



LIST OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS

ILLUSTRATED ON PLATES XIV and XV

Pl. XIV, 8. AV. Thrymsa; Num. Chron. 1922, p.  
215, no. 2.

9. AR. Sceatta; B. M. C. no. 12.
10. AR. Sceatta; B. M. C. no. 37.
11. AR. Sceatta; B. M. C. no. 49.
12. AR. Merovingian Silver coin; uncertain  
mint.

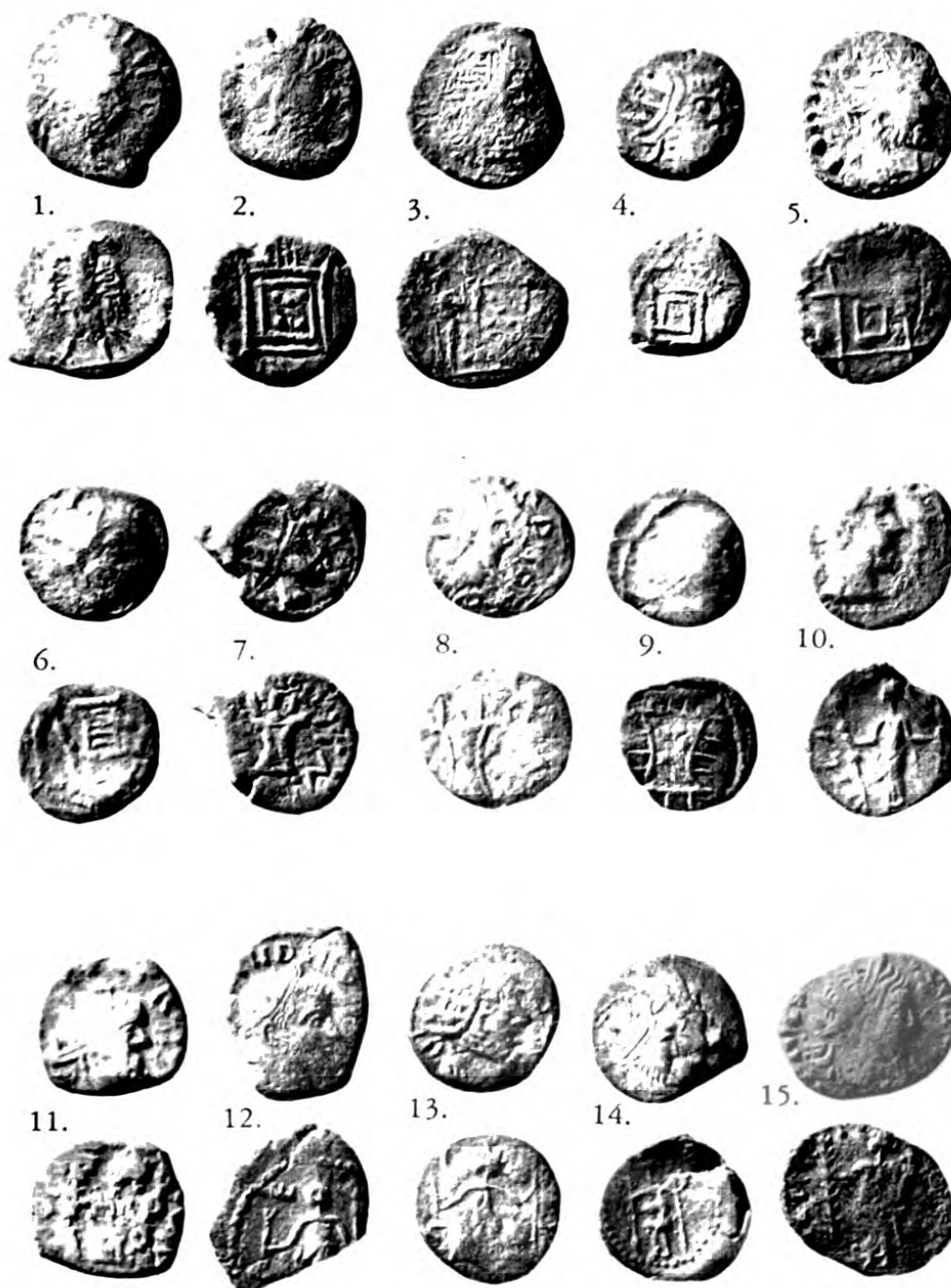
- Pl. XV,
1. AR. Sceatta; B. M. C. no. 189.
  2. AR. Sceatta; B. M. C. no. 77.
  3. AR. Sceatta; B. M. C. no. 88.
  4. AR. Sceatta; B. M. C. no. 97.
  5. AR. Sceatta; B. M. C. type 16, var.
  6. AR. Sceatta; B. M. C. no. 105.
  7. AR. Sceatta; B. M. C. no. 113.
  8. AR. Sceatta; B. M. C. type 51.
  9. AV. Thrymsa; Num. Chron. 1922, p.  
215, no. 3.
  10. AR. Sceatta; B. M. C. type 37.
  11. AV. Merovingian Triens; Pfalzel.
  12. AV. Merovingian Triens; Compreignac.
  13. AR. Sceatta; B. M. C. no. 135.
  14. AV. Thrymsa found at Warminster,  
Wilts.
  15. AV. Thrymsa; B. M. C. no. 7.

All these coins are in the British Museum.

The references are to the British Museum Catalogue  
of Anglo-Saxon Coins. Vol. I. pp. 1-22.

# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

# PLATE I





# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

# PLATE II



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.



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8.



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12.



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14.



15.





# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

# PLATE III

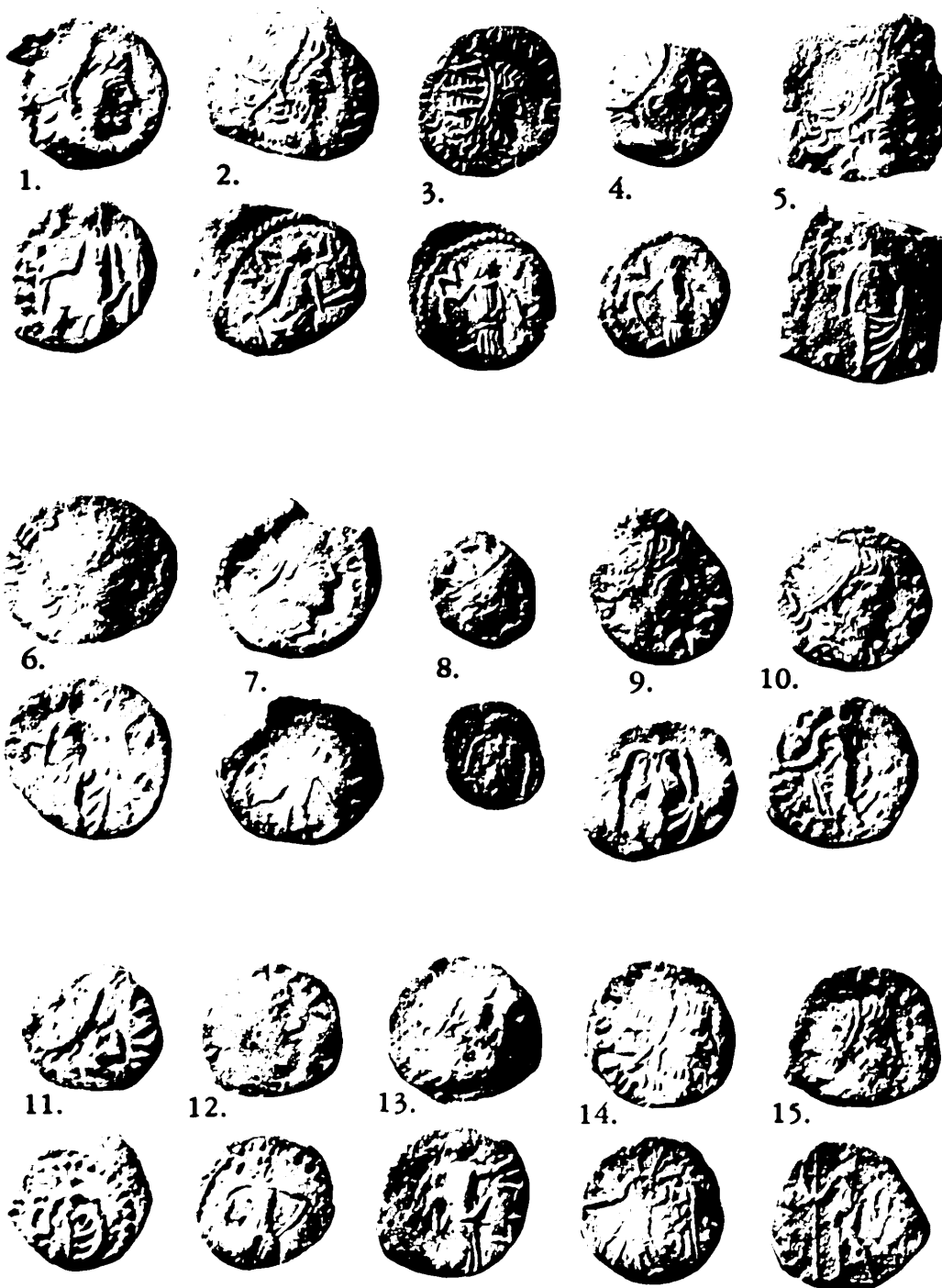








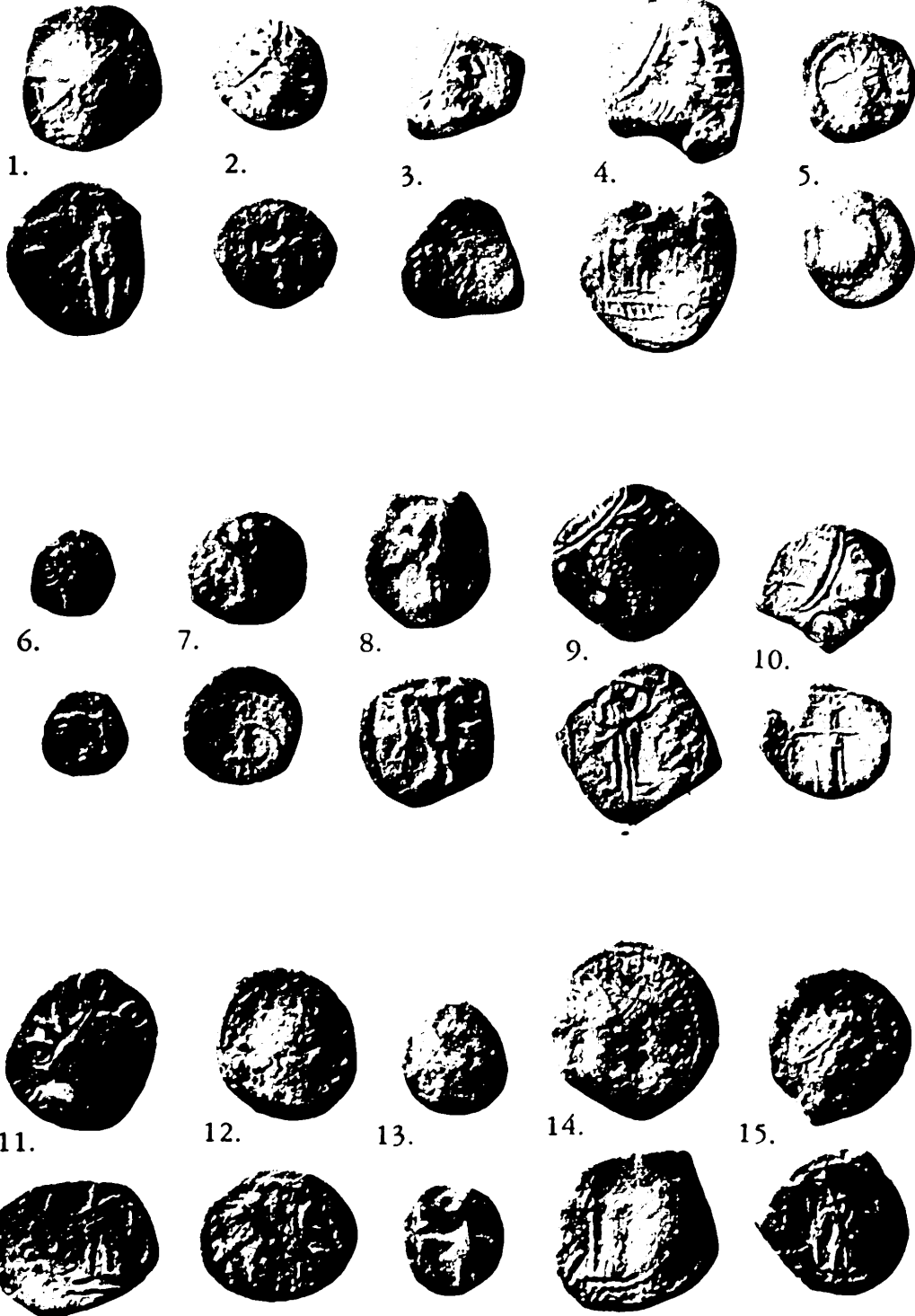






RICHBOROUGH HOARD

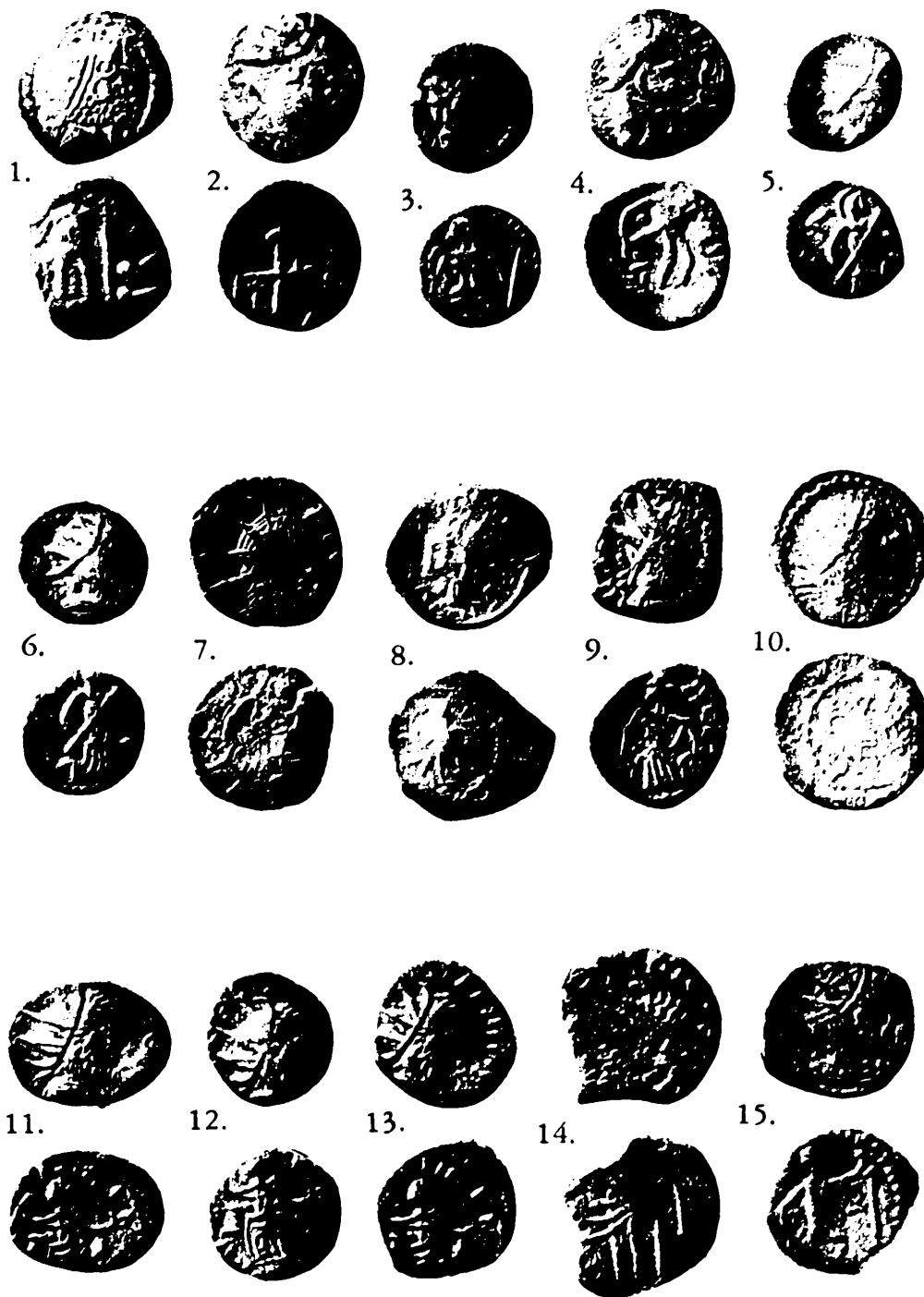
PLATE V





# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

## PLATE VI





# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

# PLATE III

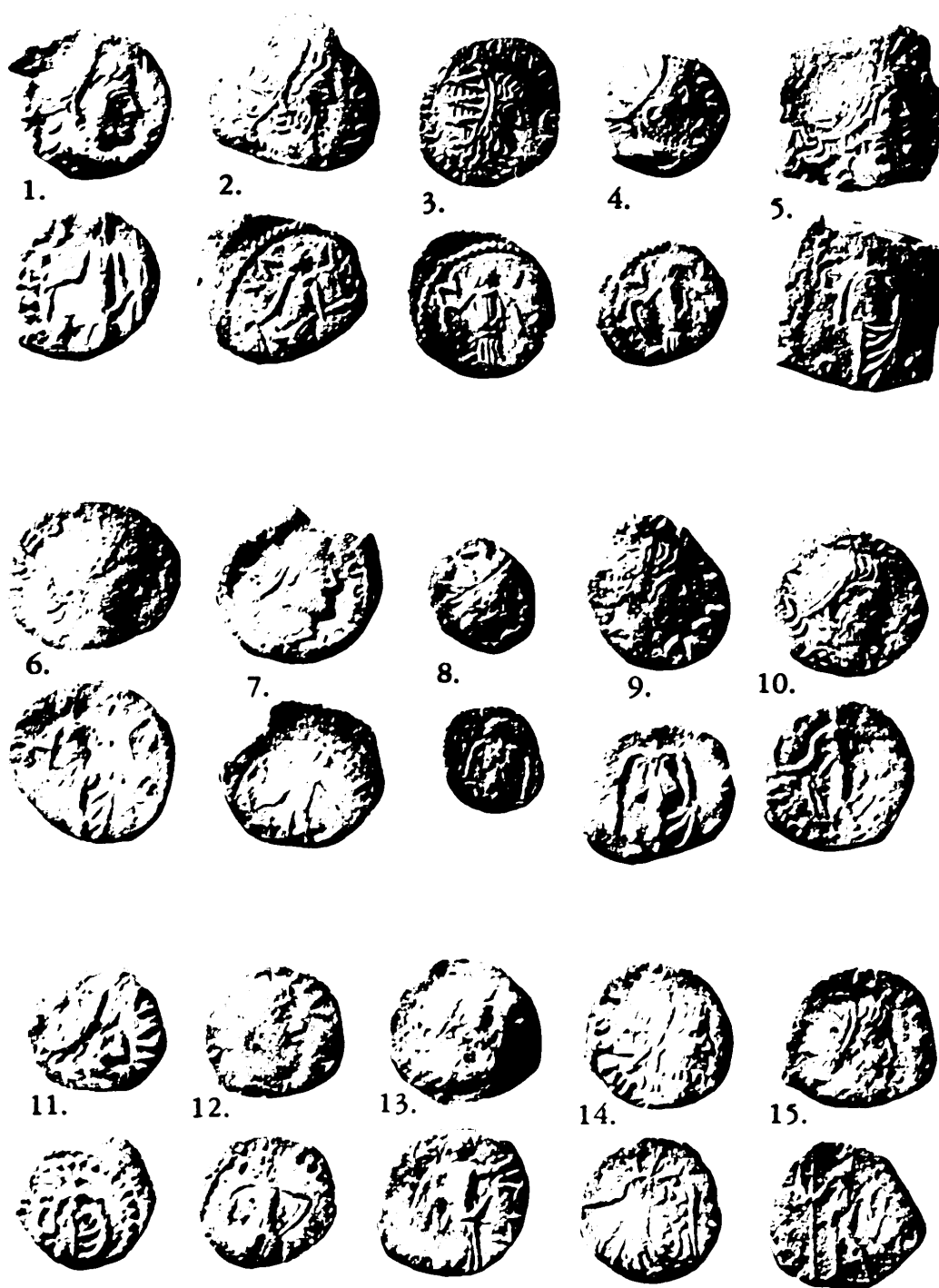






# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

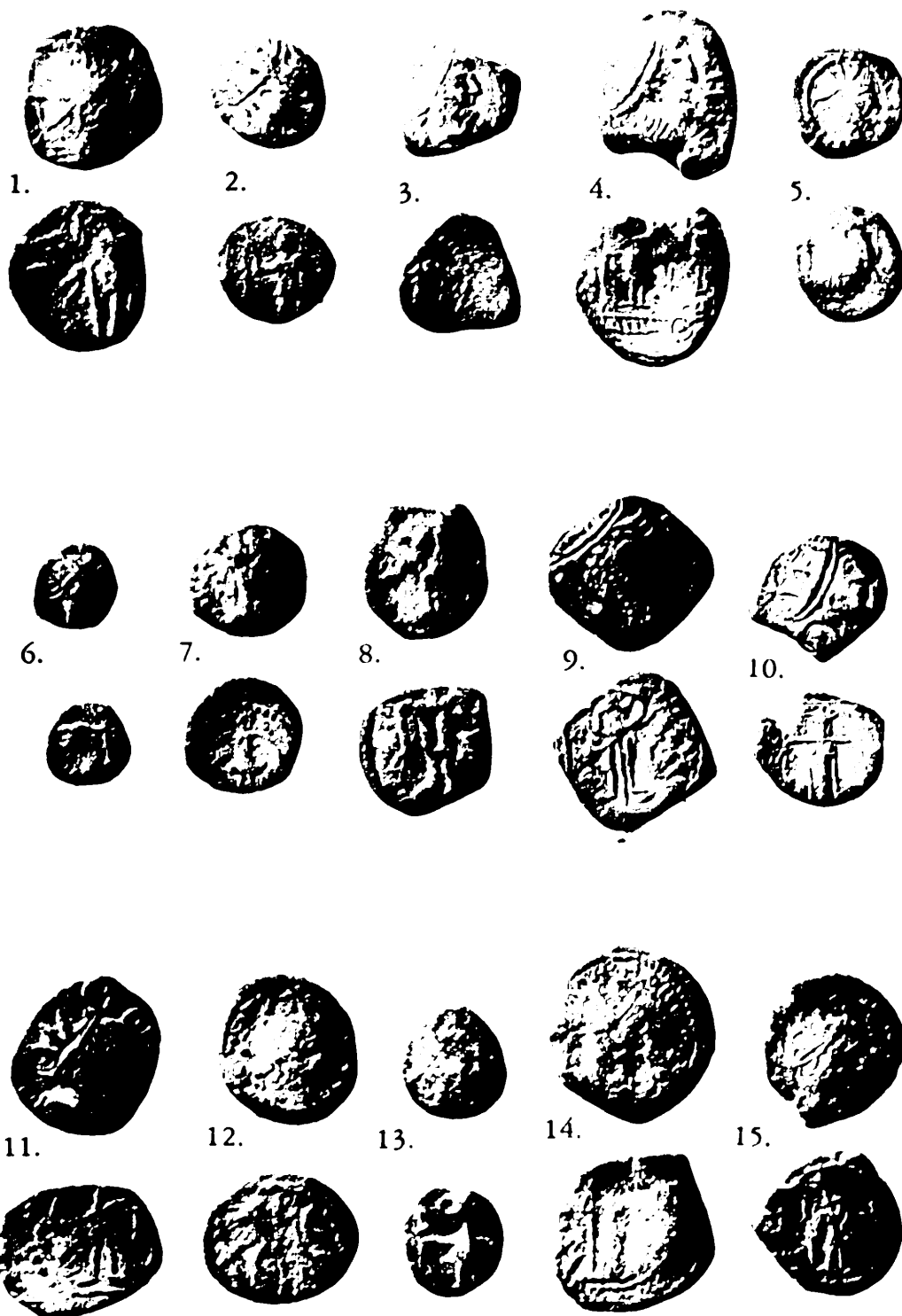
# PLATE IV





# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

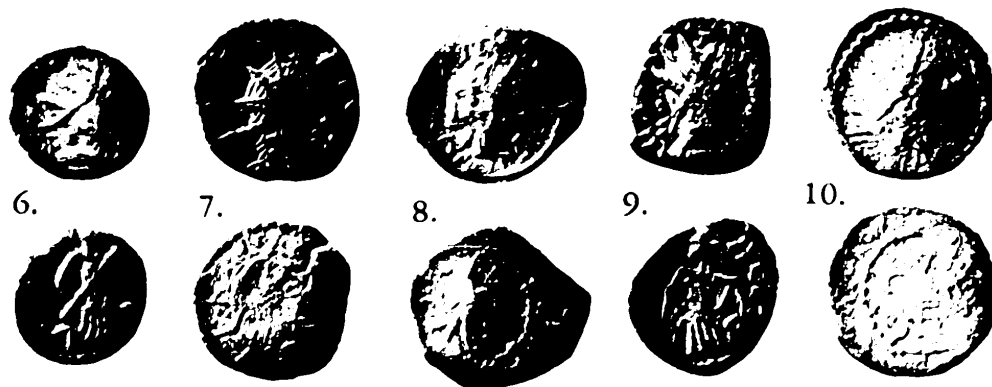
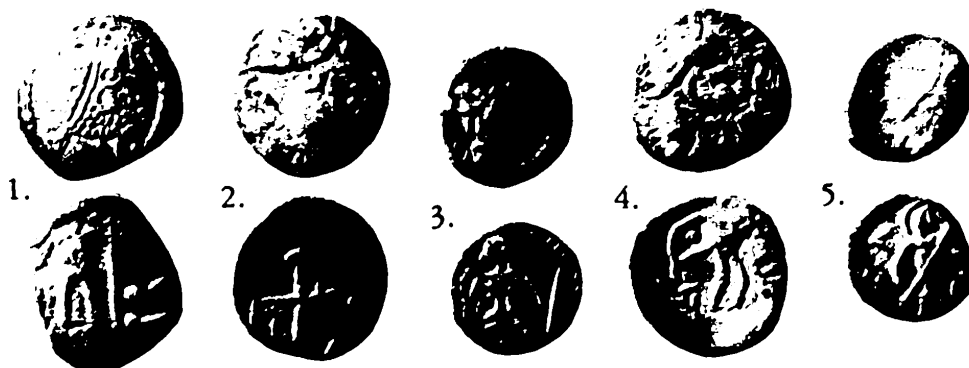
# PLATE V





# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

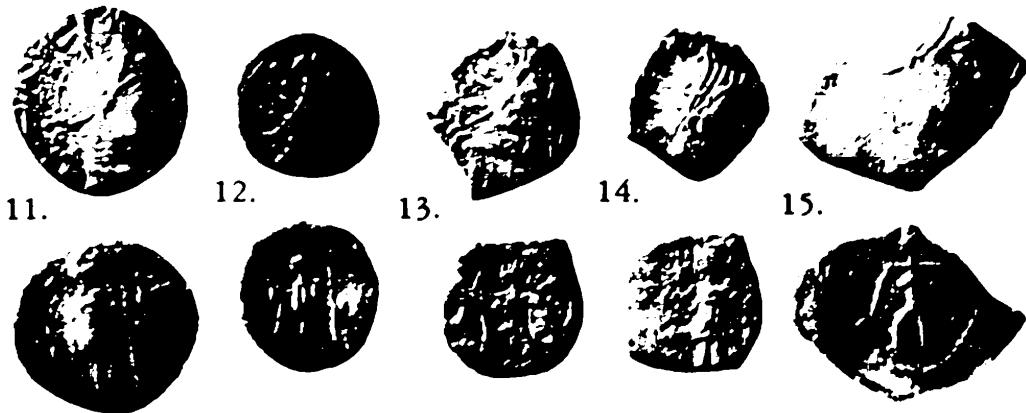
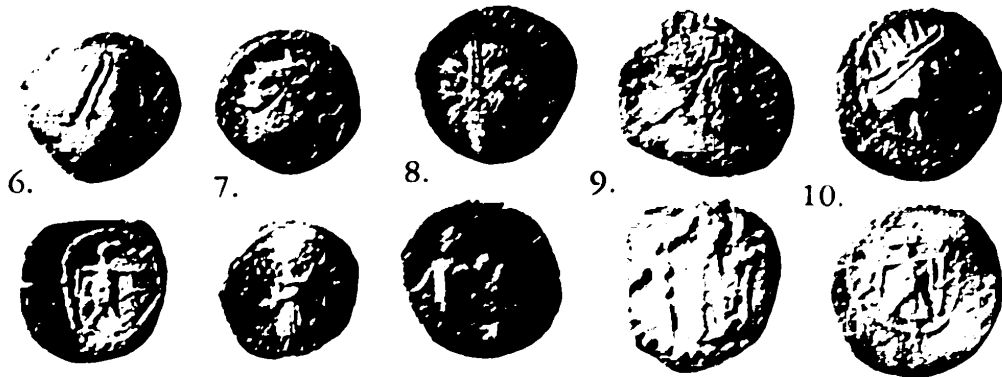
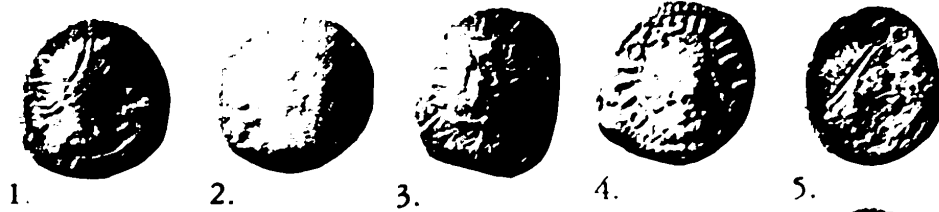
# PLATE VI





# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

# PLATE VII

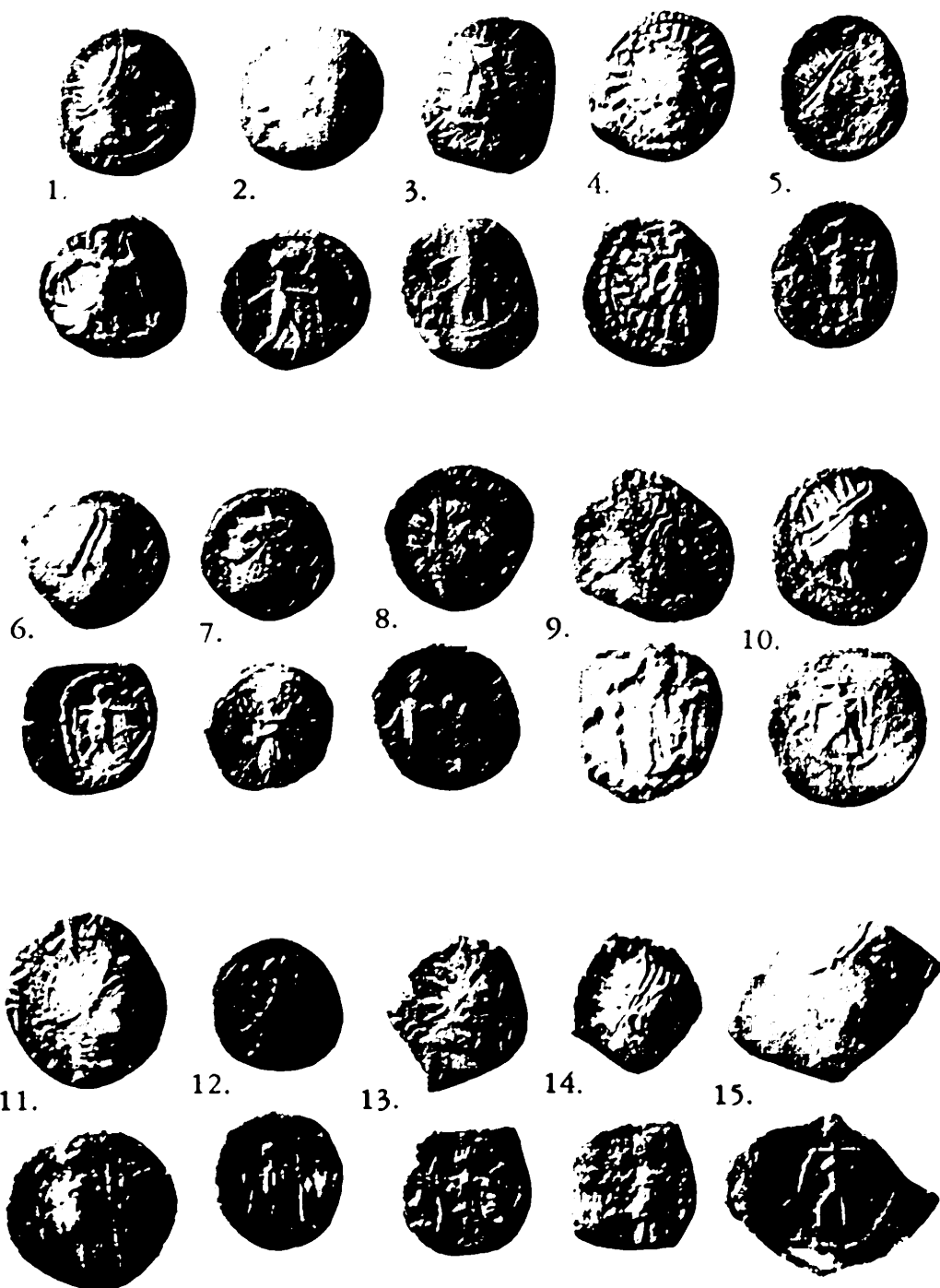




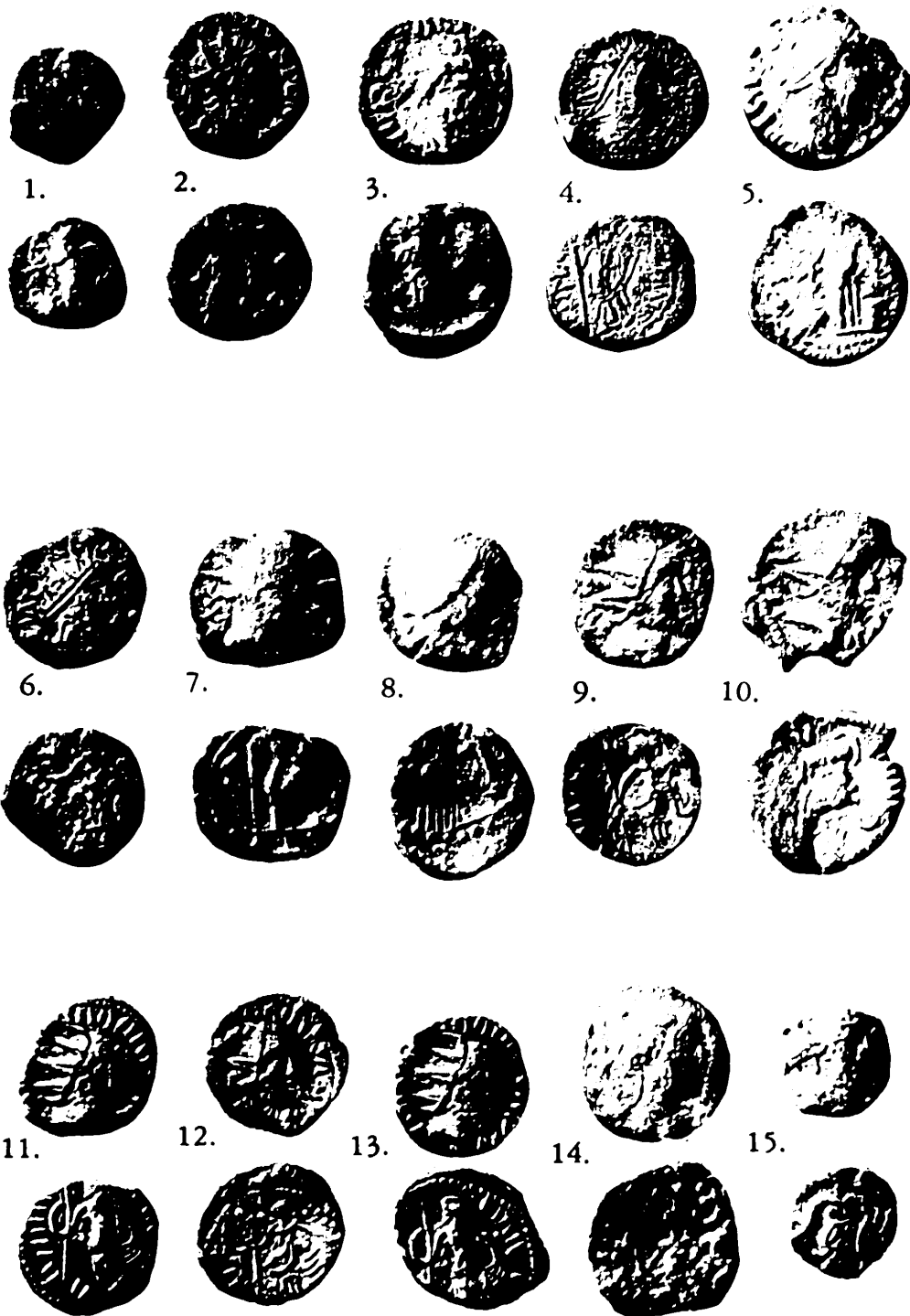


# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

# PLATE VII



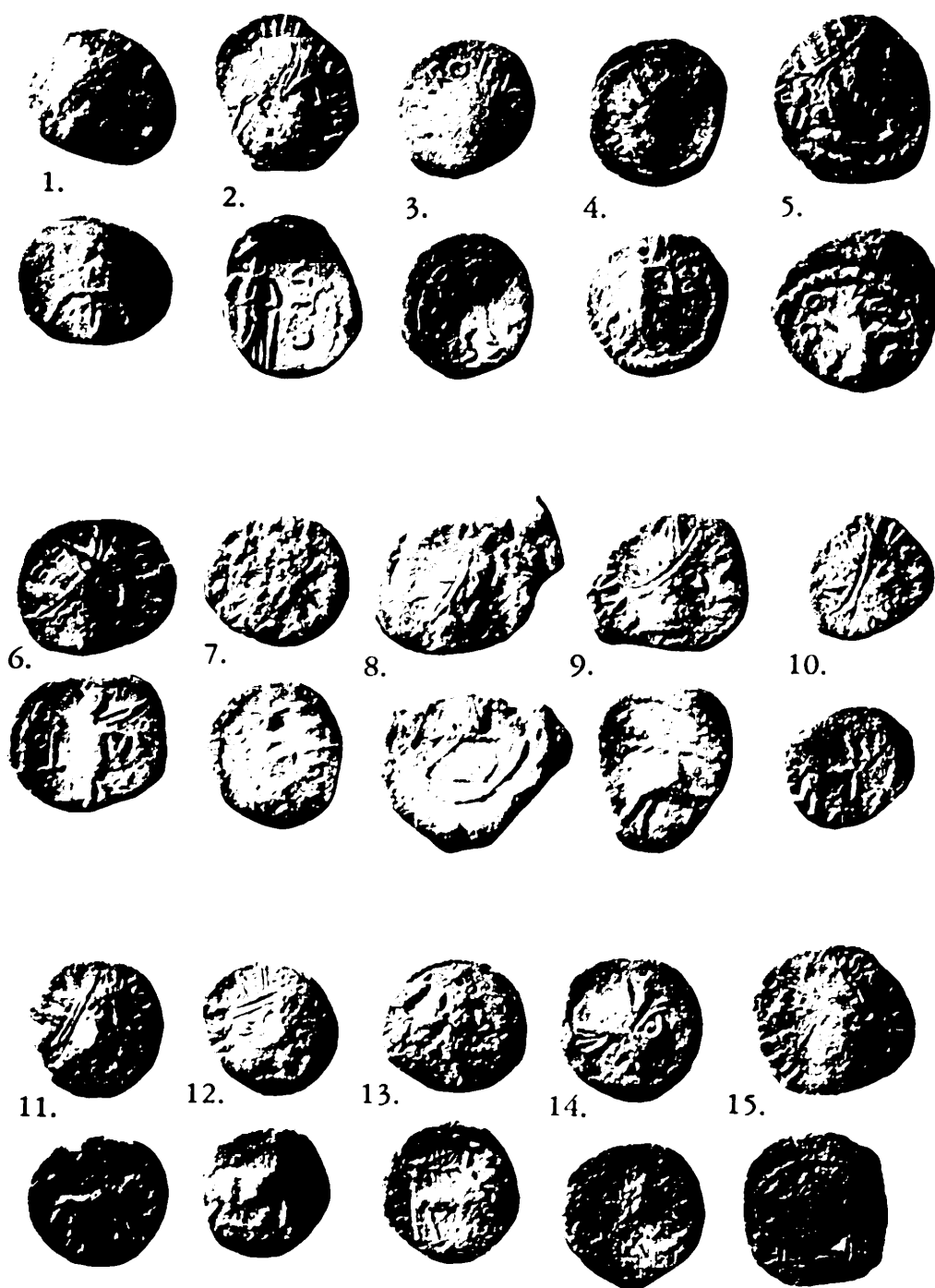






# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

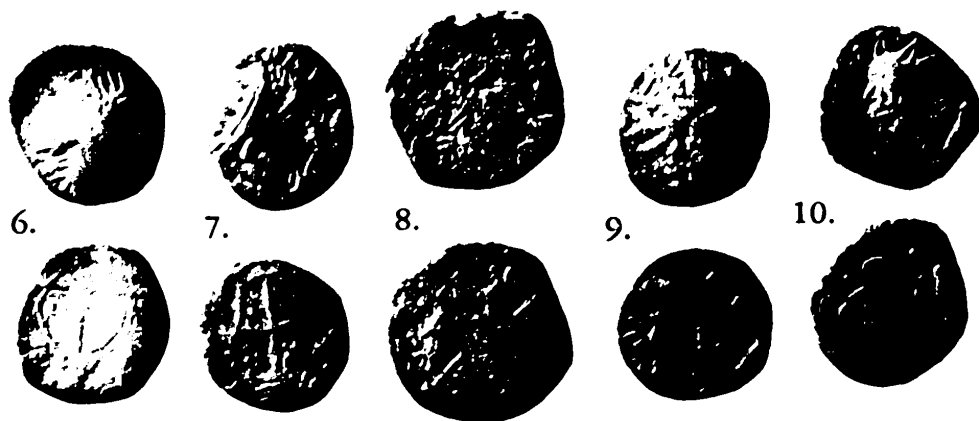
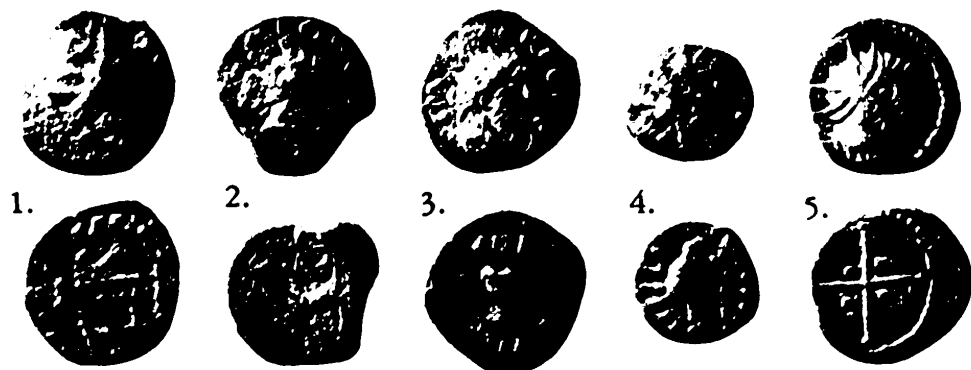
# PLATE IX





# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

# PLATE X









1.



2.



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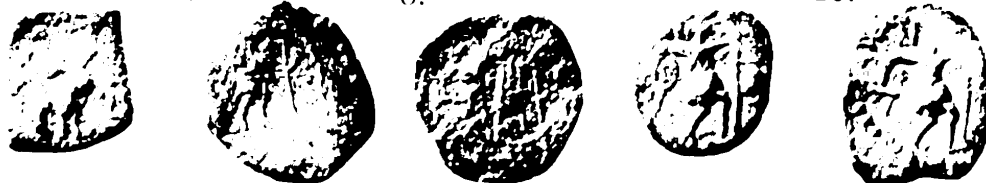




1. 2. 3. 4. 5.



6. 7. 8. 9. 10.



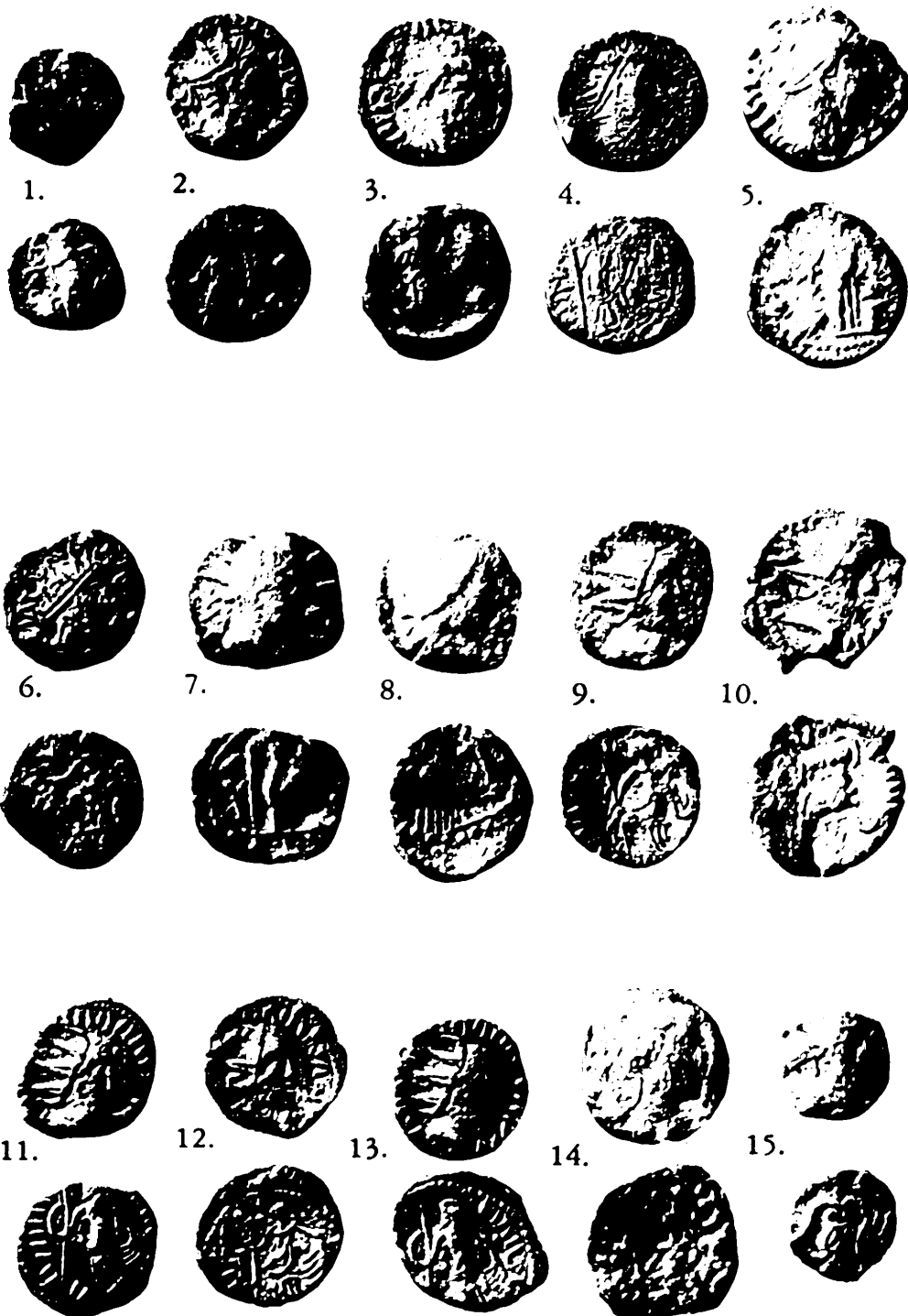
11. 12. 13. 14. 15.





# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

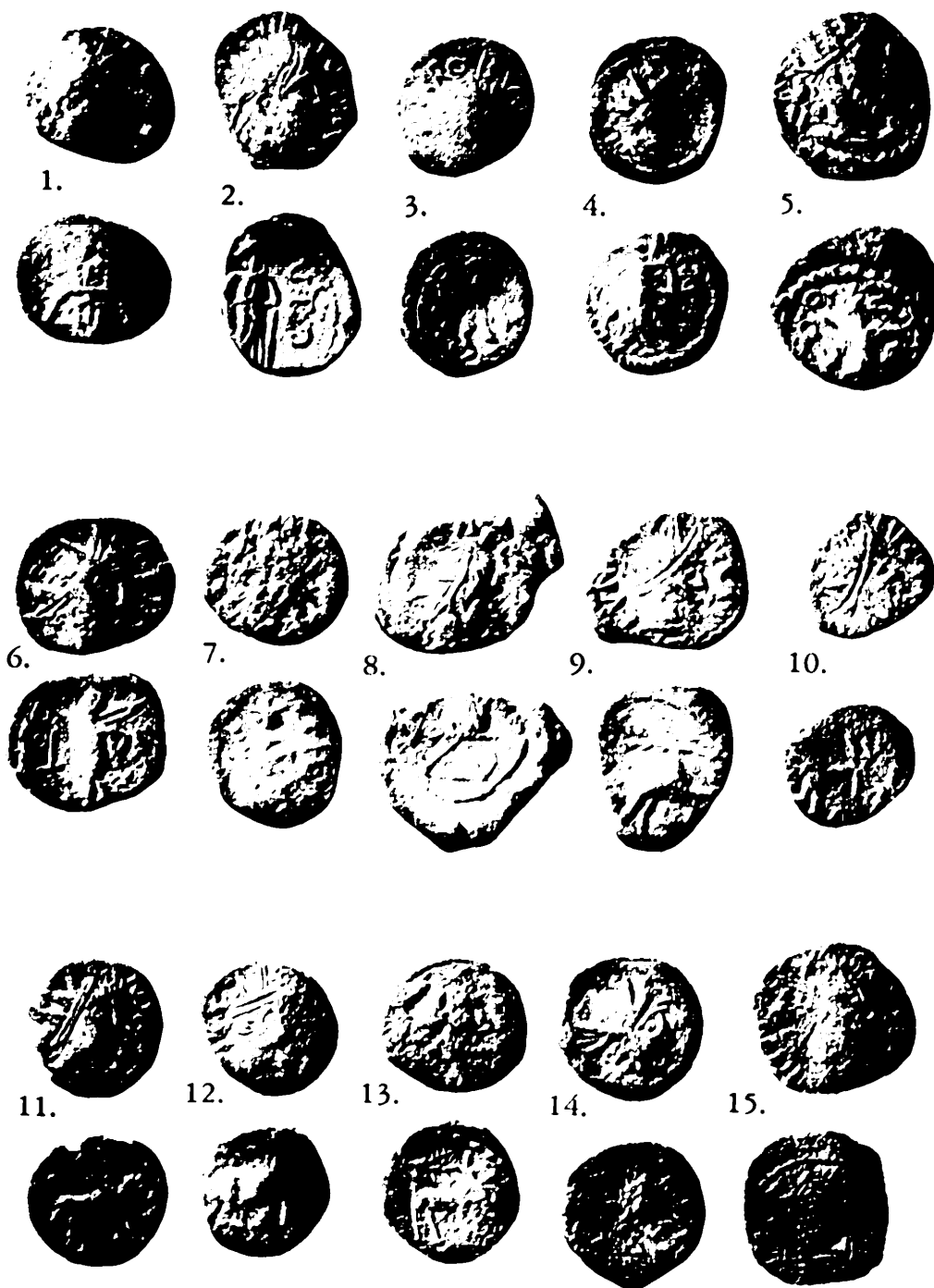
# PLATE VIII





# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

# PLATE IX

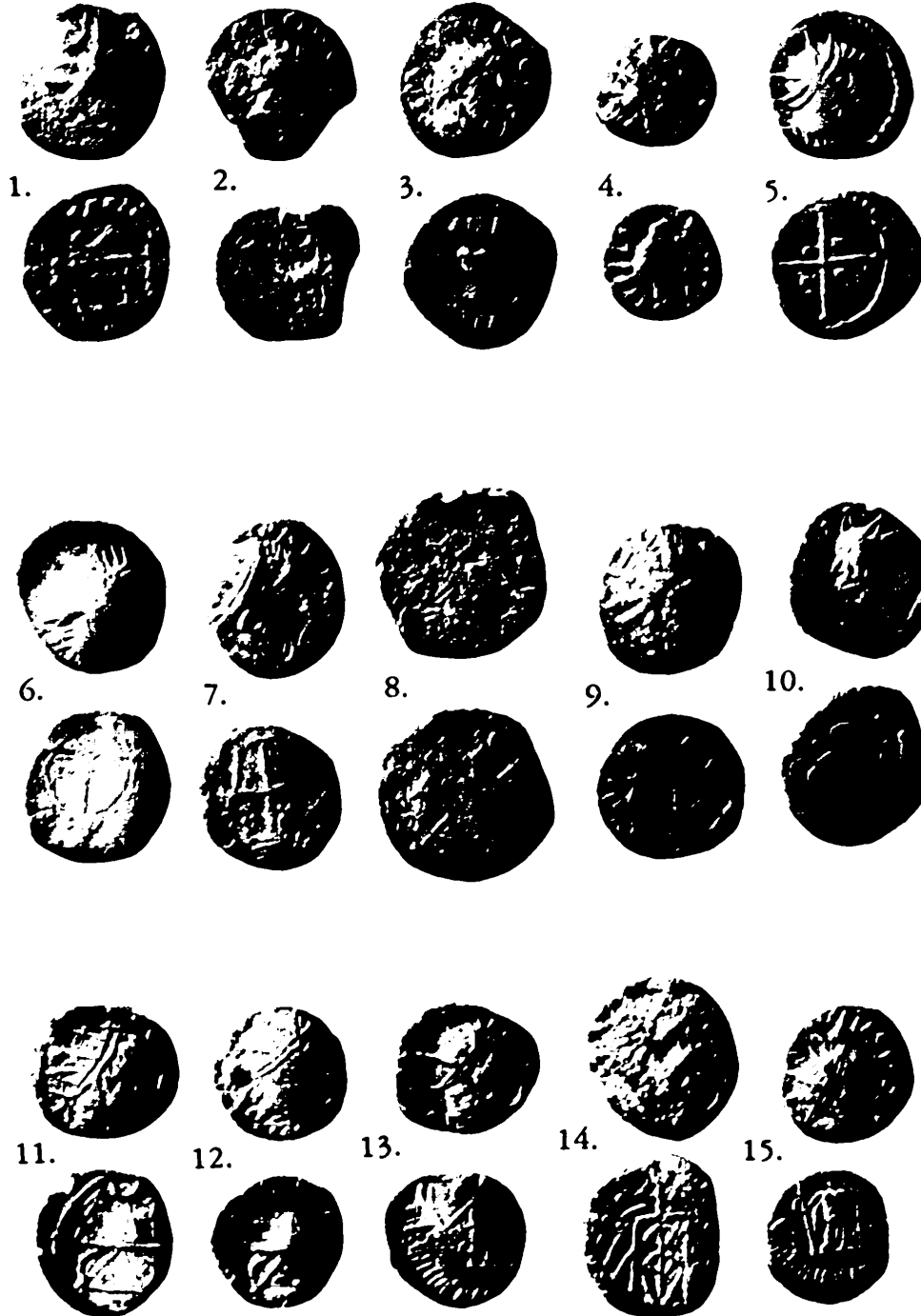






# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

# PLATE X







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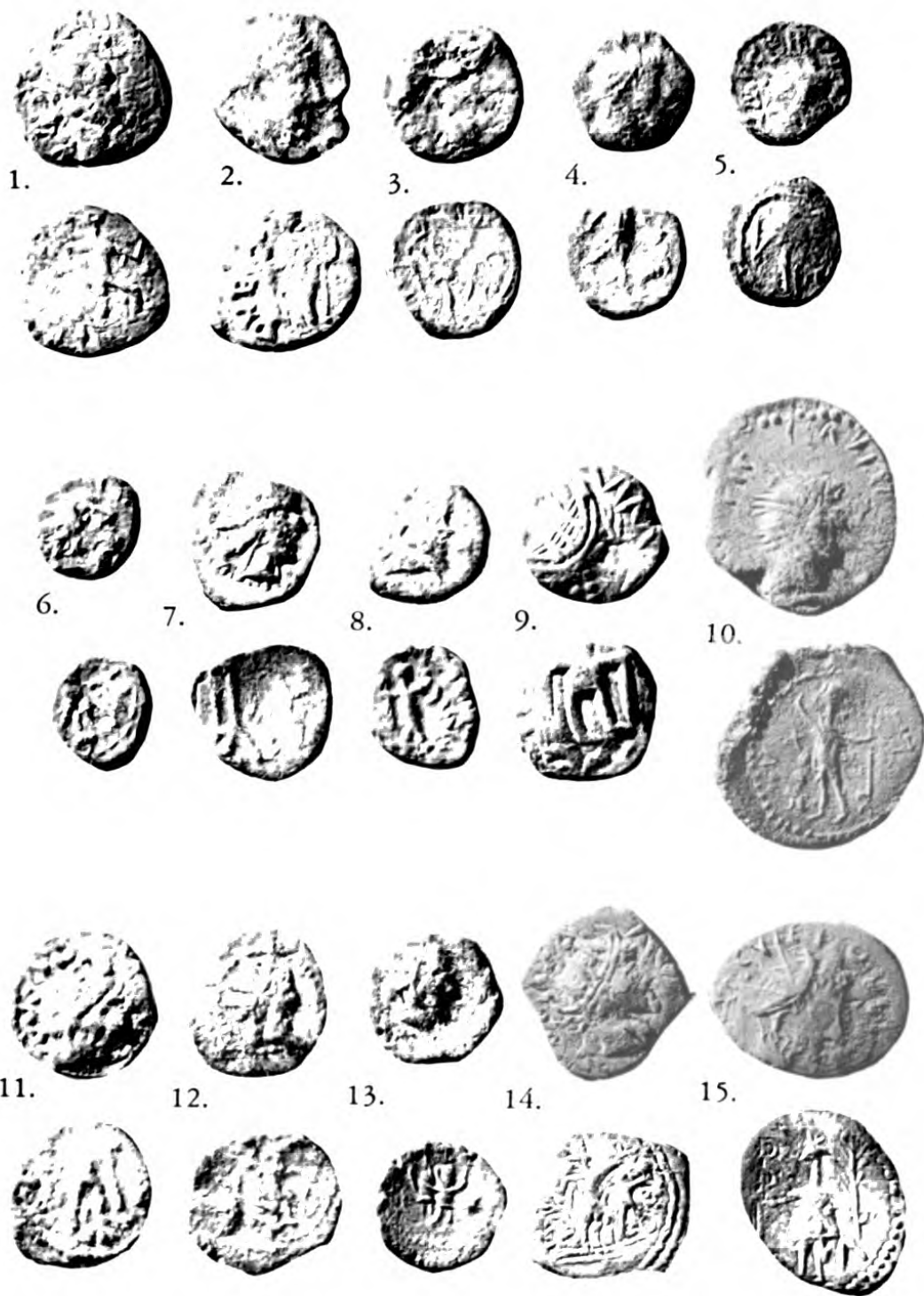
15.





# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

# PLATE XII





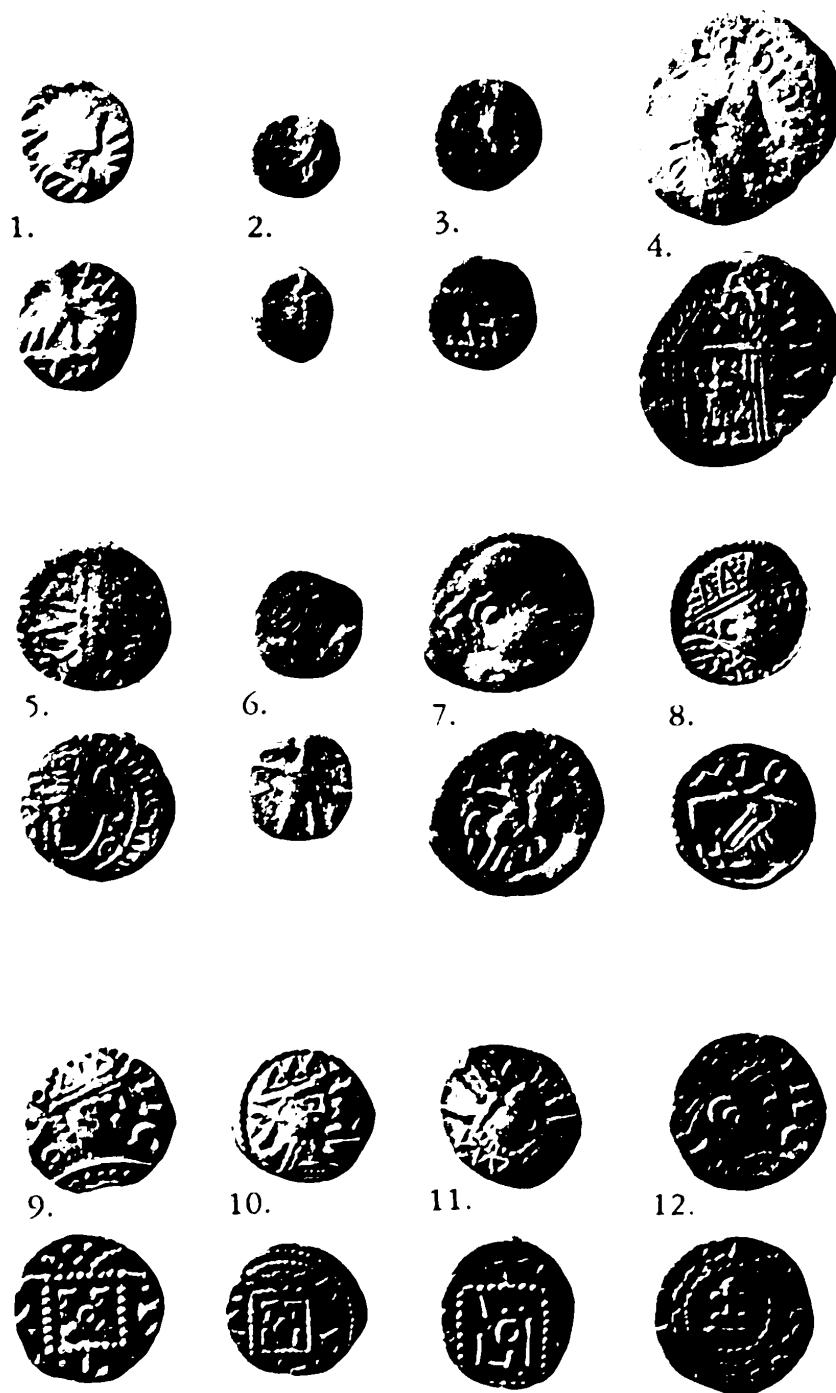
# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

# PLATE XIII

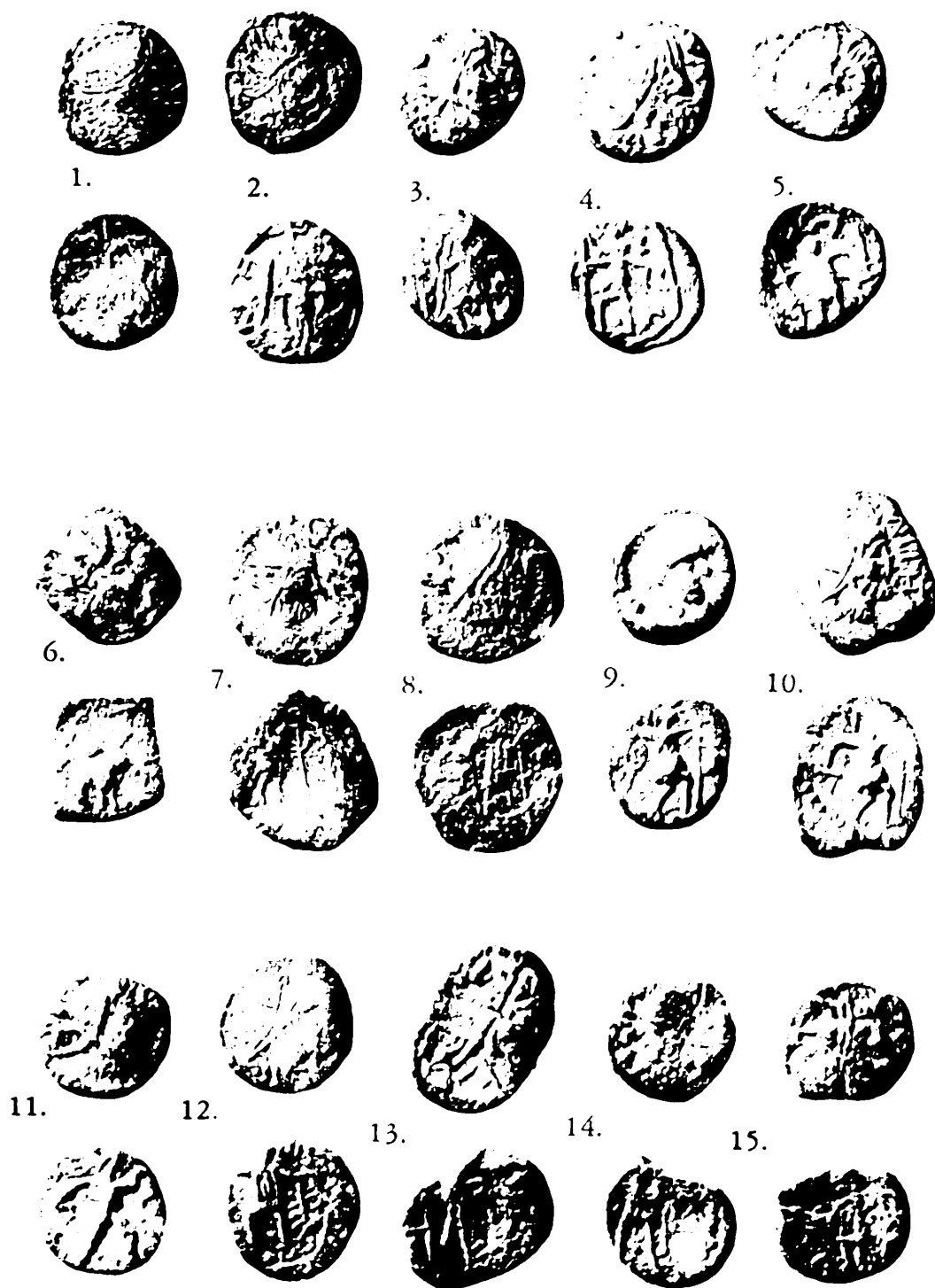








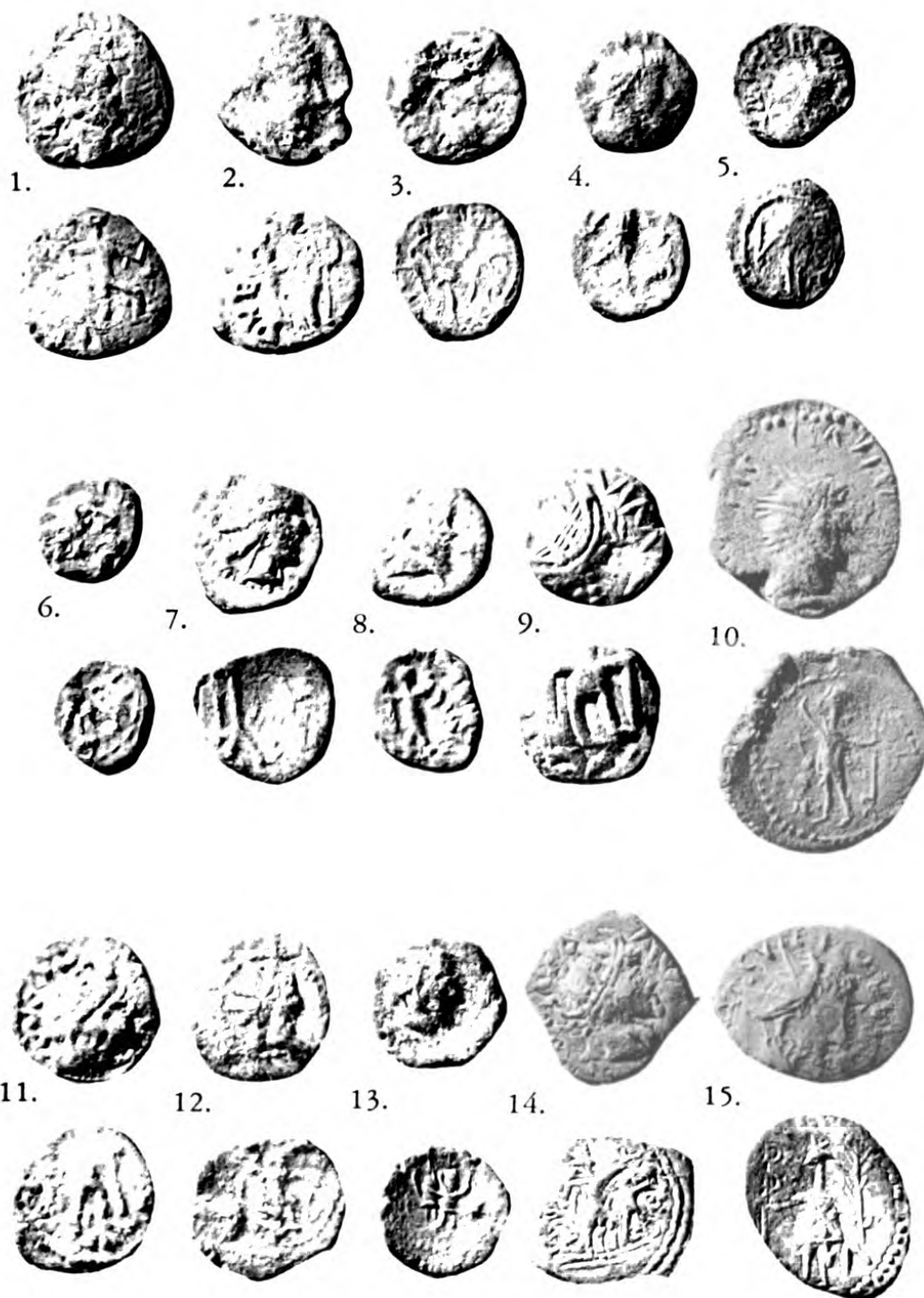






# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

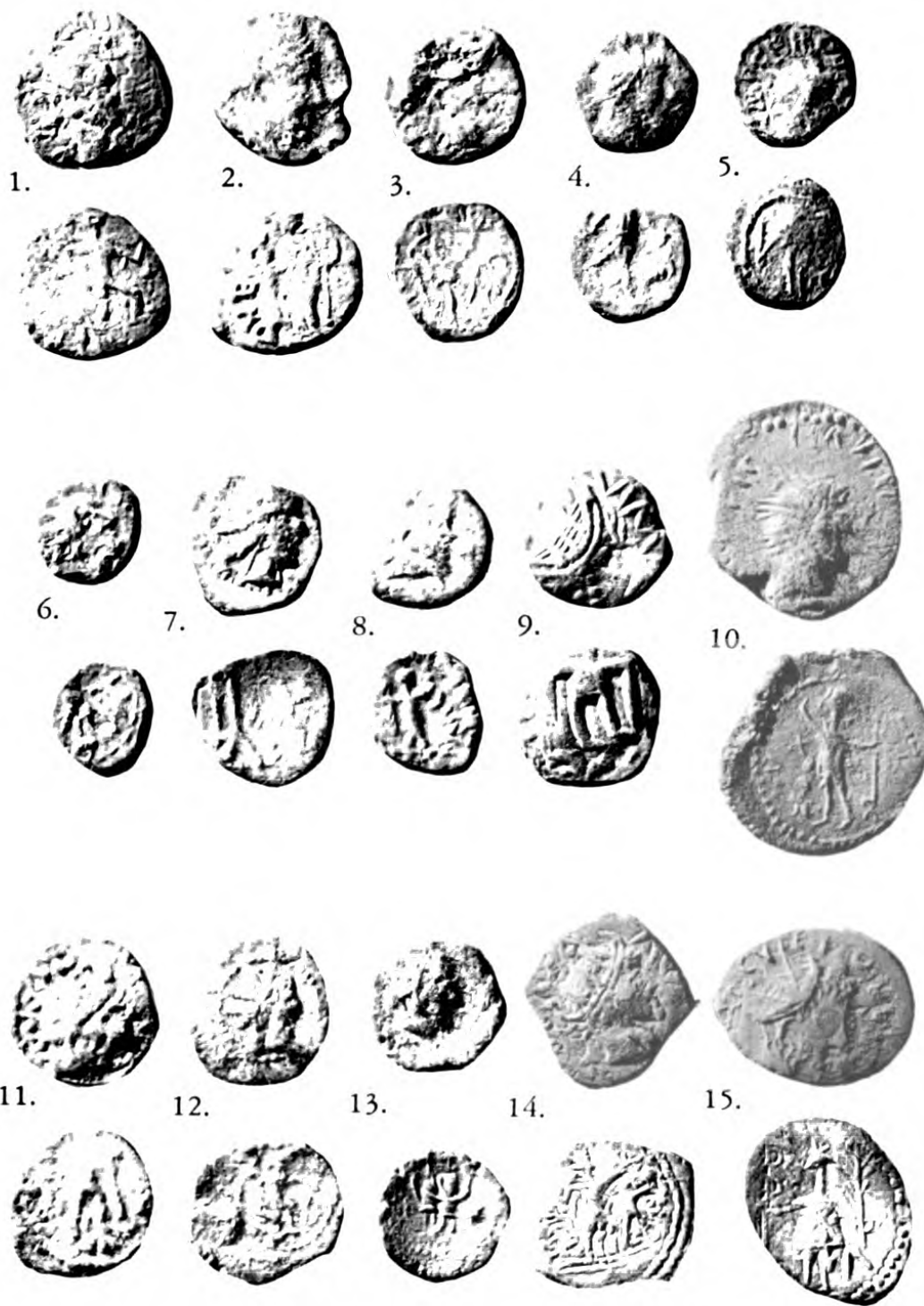
# PLATE XII





# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

# PLATE XII







# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

# PLATE XIII



1.



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3.



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10.



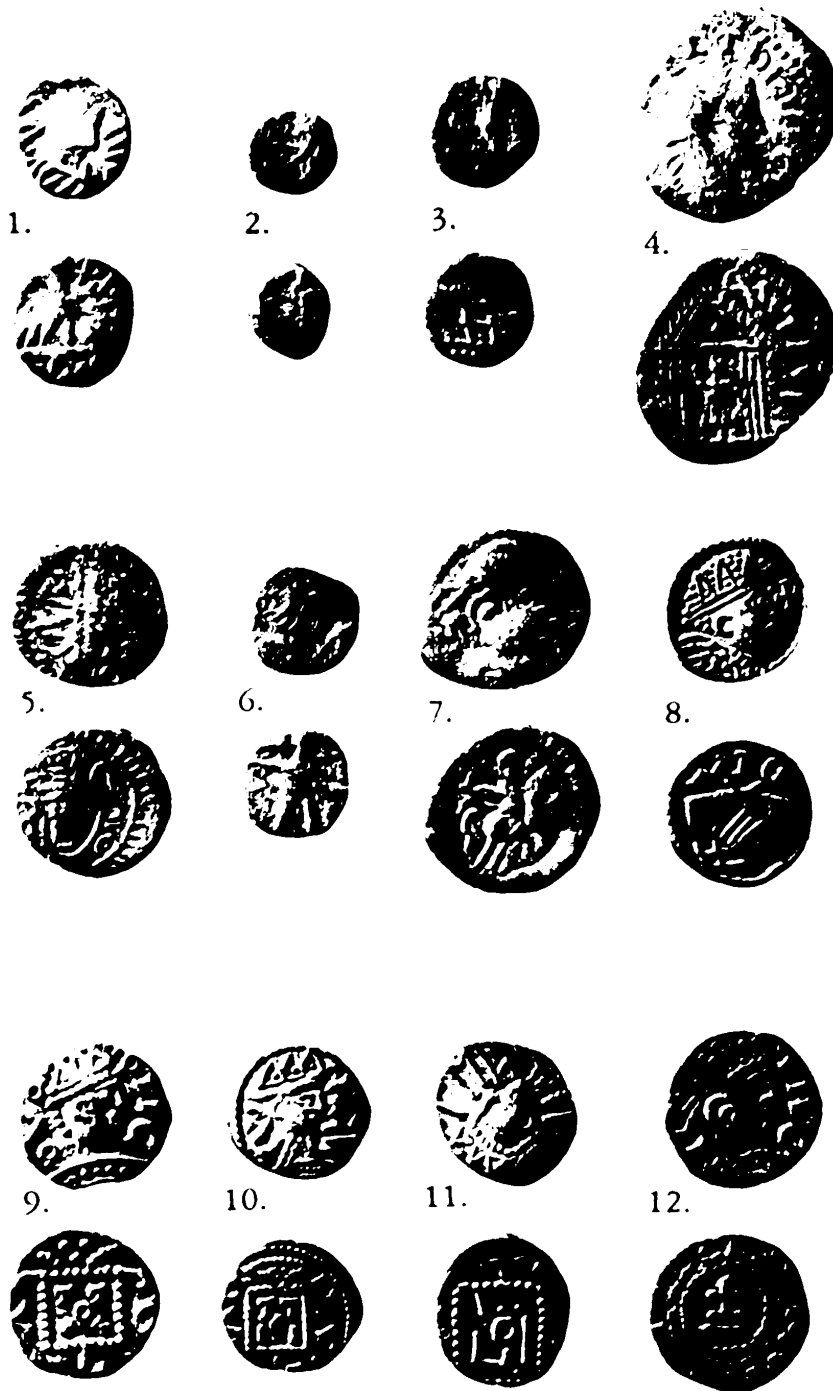
11.



12.



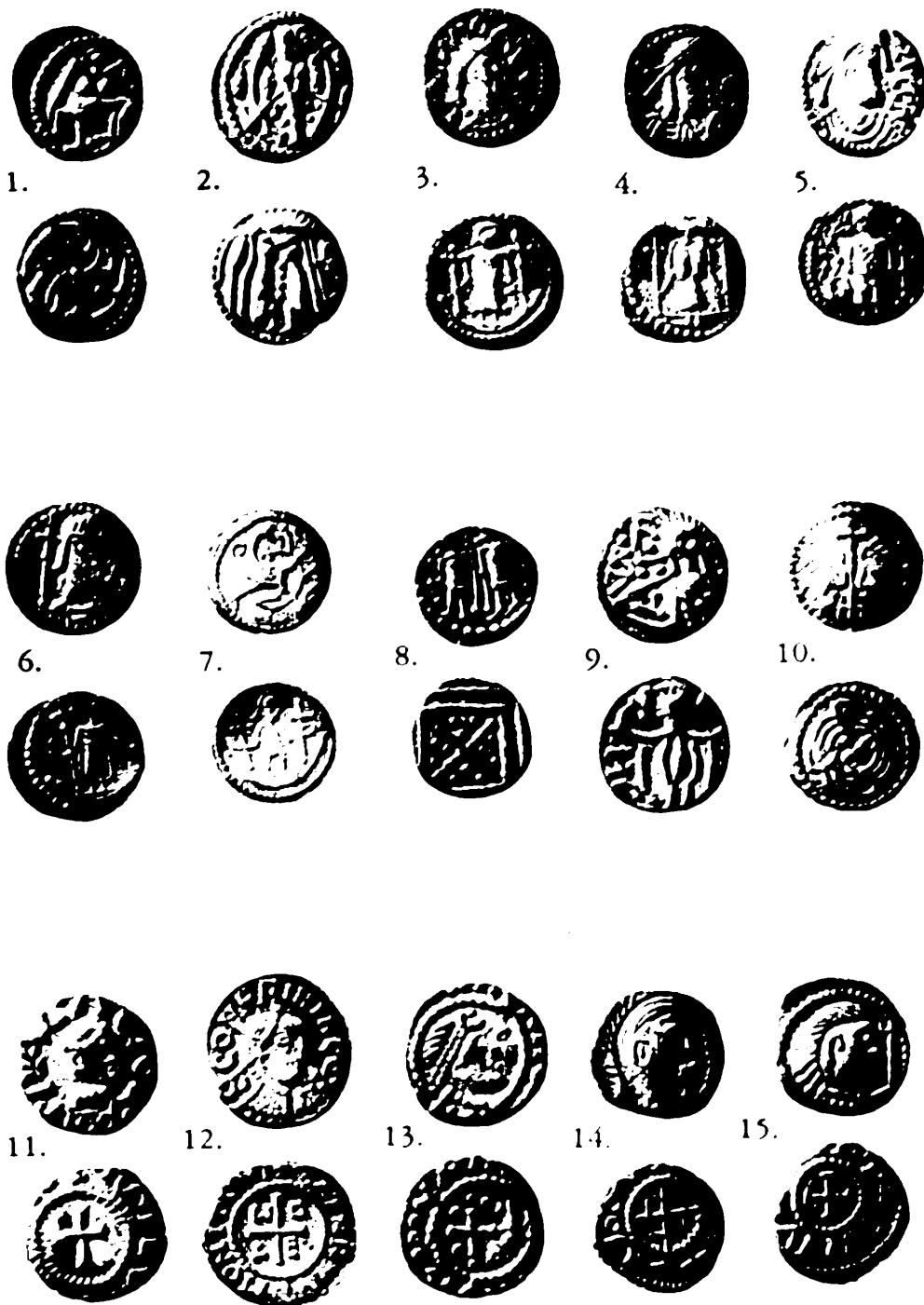




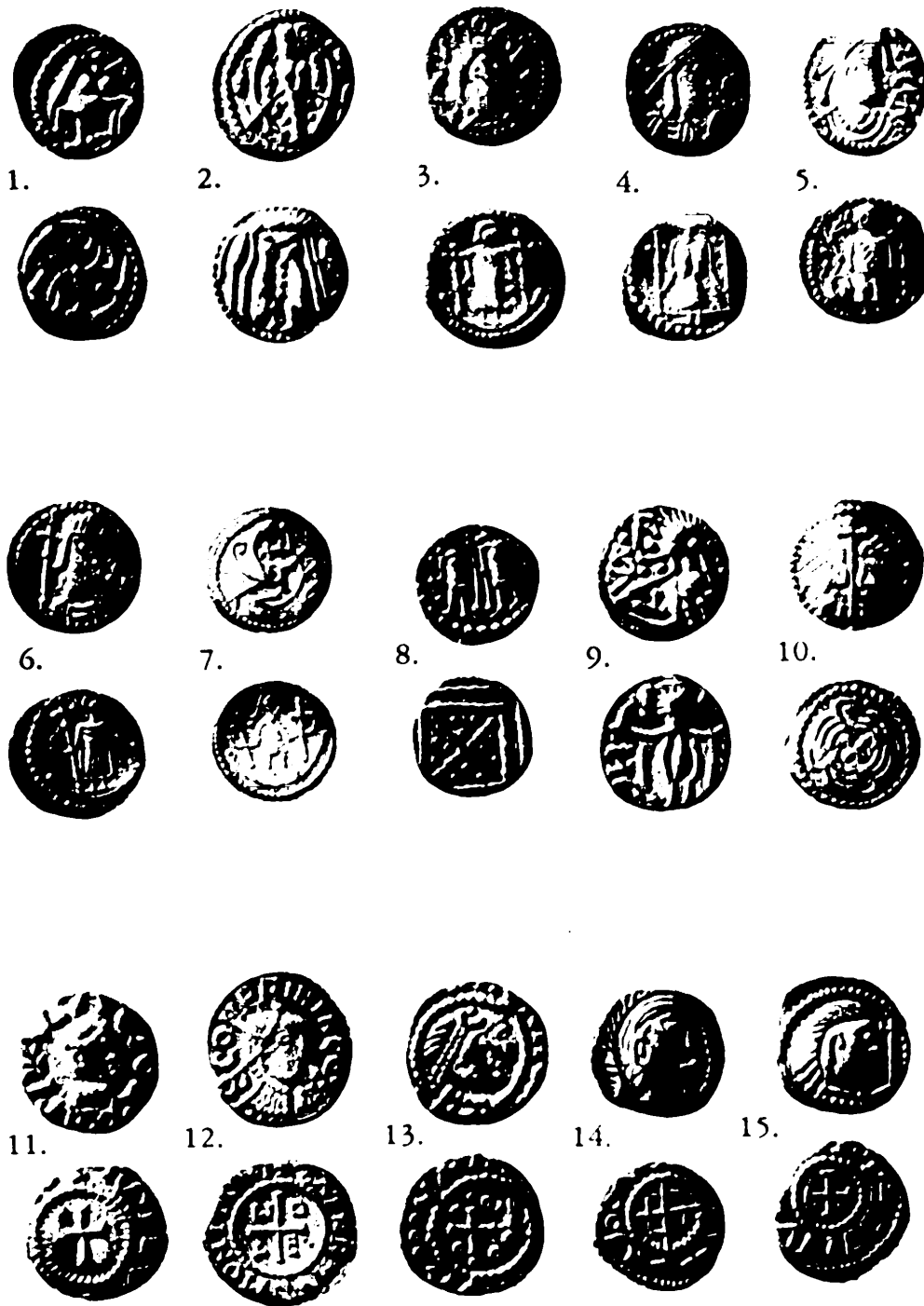


# RICHBOROUGH HOARD

# PLATE XV











# NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS  
is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects  
relating to coins, paper money, medals and  
decorations, and is uniform with Hispanic Notes  
and Monographs published by the Hispanic  
Society of America, and with Indian Notes and  
Monographs issued by the Museum of the  
American Indian—Heye Foundation.

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# COINS FROM JERASH, 1928-1934

BY  
ALFRED R. BELLINGER



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET  
NEW YORK  
1938

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## COINS FROM JERASH

The excavations at Jerash (the ancient Gerasa) in Transjordanian were first planned by Professor Benjamin W. Bacon of Yale University, and as a result of his interest were undertaken by Yale in conjunction with the British and American Schools in Jerusalem. Anything like a complete examination of the site was out of the question with the funds available and the work so far has been restricted to a series of special problems, the discussion of which is being published in a general report edited by Professor Carl H. Krae-ling of the Yale Divinity School. The coins found in the course of the digging are briefly analyzed in the report and are here more fully described by the courtesy of the American Numismatic Society. They were cleaned by the excavators and 459 were identified and listed by Mr. A. S. Kirkbride of the Museum at Amman who reserved a series for that institution and sent the remainder to New Haven together with the unidentified pieces. What further cleaning was necessary was done by Mr. H. L. McClintock, then a Senior in Yale College, and the present writer has completed the catalogue with the assistance of specialists of greater competence to whom he here expresses his indebtedness. The advice of Mr. E. T. Newell is so regularly sought by excavators as to be almost a matter of course, but no one who has profited by that advice will mistake repeated acknowledgments for an empty form. Professor C. C. Torrey of

Yale has been consulted on the Nabataean coins. Dr. J. K. Birge of the American Board of Foreign Missions in Istanbul has come to the aid of the writer's trifling acquaintance with Arabic, and Mr. John Walker of the British Museum has given invaluable help on special problems. Dr. George C. Miles has generously read both manuscript and proof of the Arabic section and revised the spelling. Finally, Mr. Howland Wood of the American Numismatic Society has assisted so much with the Islamic coins that that whole section might reasonably stand under his name. His sudden death is a source of the greatest regret to all who had had the benefit and the pleasure of working with him.

No detailed discussion of the site is here possible, but it may be appropriate to give an outline of our scanty knowledge of the town's history. Of the first settlement of Gerasa there are no remains, and the only evidence available is the name itself whose origin and meaning are uncertain but clearly not Greek, showing the existence of a pre-Seleucid town. It is not known which of the Seleucid Kings is responsible for the foundation of the Greek city. It is likely that under Antiochus IV (175-164 B.C.) it received its official title of "Antioch-on-the-Chrysoroas," but so far nothing of consequence has been uncovered which can be attributed to the Greek period. At some time in the second century B.C. it fell into the hands of Zeno Cotylus, tyrant of Philadelphia (the modern Amman), from whose son Theodorus it was won by the Jewish King Alexander Jannaeus in 85

B.C. In 63 Pompey's victory over the Jews resulted in their losing most of the country across the Jordan, and the group of towns known as the Decapolis, to which Gerasa had at some time been attached, seems to have been left in a state of quasi-autonomy. A single Nabataean bi-lingual inscription and the coins of Aretas IV and Rabbel II testify to a period of influence from the Kings of Petra, but there is no certain evidence of the political position of Gerasa until it was included in the province of Arabia created by Trajan. Thereafter it remained a part of the Roman empire until the Saracen conquest in 634 A.D. or shortly afterwards.

The various periods of the city's history are unevenly represented by the coins, which results from the fact that the digging has been done not in any attempt to recover the general history of the site, but in an investigation of certain isolated monuments. The large majority of the coins come from the South Tetrapylon, one of the city's great gateways, while a number are supplied by the Baths of Placcus of the fifth century A.D., and a few by the Temple of Artemis area, the Hippodrome, the north end of the Forum, a cemetery and several churches. Their contribution to the understanding of those locations is discussed in the report of the excavation. Our only concern here is to point out that their testimony is not to the site as a whole but to a number of spots within the city historically independent. Nevertheless, they make a better balanced series than one would expect under the circumstances and deserve to



be recorded pending the time when further excavation may yield a more comprehensive picture. The accompanying tables will give a digest of the material.

The disappointing paucity of Hellenistic coins leaves us in entire ignorance of the early fortunes of the country. Did the district across the Jordan share with Palestine that shift from Ptolemaic to Seleucid control after the conquests of Antiochus III which is so clearly shown in the excavations of Beth Zur<sup>1</sup> and emerges from an analysis of the material from Samaria?<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately there seems to be no comparative material available from Trans-Jordan itself, and an attempt to draw conclusions from the Jerash coins would be folly. At the beginning of the Christian era, however, the preponderance of Nabataean over Palestinian coins gives us some ground for believing that the energy of Aretas IV had separated the district from Jewish control. I can find no record of his pieces in Palestinian sites (though with the exception of the two excavations already cited and of Jerusalem itself, the numismatic records are far from satisfactory). This would seem to indicate that the Jordan was the boundary between spheres of influence in his time. If the four fractional pieces ascribed to him are those of his successor Malchus II instead (as Hill believes), they and the three representatives of Rabbel II testify to a continued though diminished contact with the Nabataean power until the time of Trajan.

<sup>1</sup> *The Citadel of Beth Zur*, O. R. Sellars. Philadelphia, 1933, pp. 69 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, I*, Reisner-Fisher-Lyon. Cambridge, 1924, pp. 21 ff., 252-273.

*Roman Imperial—pre-Constantinian*

	Rome	Siscia	Heraclea	Cyzicus	Asia	Tripolis	Antioch	Unattributed	Total Imperial	Civic	Total
Claudius, 41-54.....										2	2
Nero, 54-68.....										2	2
Domitian, 81-96.....										2	2
Nerva, 96-98.....										1	1
Trajan, 98-117.....	3								3	5	8
Hadrian, 117-138.....	1								1	5	6
Pius, 138-161.....										1	1
Marcus, 161-180.....	4								4	6	10
Commodus, 180-192.....										6	6
Severus, 193-211.....										2	2
Caracalla, 211-217.....										4	4
Macrinus, 217-218.....										2	2
Elagabalus, 218-222.....										7	7
Alexander, 222-235.....	1								1	20	21
Gordian III, 238-244.....										1	1
Philip, 244-249.....	1								1	15	16
Decius, 249-251.....	1								1		1
Gallus, 251-253.....	1								1	1	2
Gallienus, 253-268.....					9		3		12		12
Claudius II, 268-270.....							3		3		3
Aurelian, 270-275.....						1		1	2		2
Probus, 276-282.....		2					2		4		4
Numerianus, 282-284.....							2		2		2
Diocletian, 284-305.....	1						1		2		2
Maximian, 286-305.....				2			1		3		3
Constantius, Caesar, 292-305.....	2								2		2
Galerius, Caesar, 295-305.....			1						1		1
	15	2	1	2	9	1	12	1	43	82	125

*Roman Imperial—*

	Rome	Lugdunum
Maximian, Posthumous, 306–308.....		
Licinius I, 307–324.....	3	
Licinius II, 320–324.....		
Constantine I and his family, 306–337.....	9	
Constantine I, Posthumous, After 337.....		
“Constantinopolis,” After 337.....	1	
Constantine II, 337–340.....		
Constans I, 337–350.....	3	
Constantius II, 337–361.....	4	
Valentinian I, 364–375.....		1
Valens, 364–378.....	2	
Gratian, 367–383.....		
Valentinian II, 375–392.....		
Theodosius I, 378–395.....		
Arcadius, 395–408.....		
Honorius, 395–423.....		
Theodosius II, 408–450.....		
Marcian, 450–457.....		
Leo I, 457–474.....		
Zeno, 474–491.....		
	22	1

# COINS FROM JERASH

7

## Constantine and later

Arles	Aquileia	Ticinum	Siscia	Thessalonica	Heraclea	Constantinople	Cyzicus	Nicomedia	Antioch	Alexandria	Uncertain	Total
										1		1
	1				2				1			7
				1								1
1	1	1		5	2	2	7	9	19	5	9	70
									6		8	14
											3	4
									1		1	2
						2	2				9	16
	1			5		6	10		23	13	149	211
				2							12	15
						4	1		9	2	31	49
								1			2	3
				1					9	4	88	102
			1	1		1			14		35	52
	1			1	2	7	6	1	15	1	72	106
							3		3		25	31
						1	1		2		23	27
											3	3
						6						6
											1	1
1	4	1	1	16	6	29	30	11	102	26	471	721

Dynasts and Civic Mints	Jewish	Nabataean	Aradus	Berytus	Sidon	Tyre
Ptolemy II, 271-246 B.C.....						1
Antiochus VII, 138-129 B.C.....					1	
Hyrceanus, 135-104 B.C.....	4					
2nd century B.C.....			1			1
Demetrius III, 95-88 B.C.....						
1st Cent. B.C.-1st Cent. A.D.....				1		1
Aretas IV, 9 B.C.-40 A.D.....		21				
Herod Archelaus, 4 B.C.-6 A.D.....	1					
Procurators, 6-15 A.D.....	1					
Herod Agrippa, 37-44.....	1					
1st-2nd Cent. A.D.....						3
Claudius, 41-54.....						
Nero, 54-68.....						
Rabbel II, 71-206.....		3				
Domitian, 81-96.....	1					
Nerva, 96-98.....						
Trajan, 98-117.....						
Hadrian, 117-138.....						
Pius, 138-161.....						
Marcus, 161-180.....						
Commodus, 180-192.....						
Severus, 193-211.....						
Caracalla, 211-217.....						2
Macrinus, 217-218.....						
Elagabalus, 218-222.....						1
Alexander, 222-235.....						
Gordian III, 238-244.....						1
Philip, 244-249.....						
Gallus, 251-253.....						
	8	24	1	1	1	10

Ptolemais-Ace	Caesarea	Sephoris-Diocaesarea	Neapolis	Philippopolis	Bostra	Gerasa	Philadelphia	Ebus	Antioch	Hieropolis	Damascus	Palmyra	Alexandria	Perga	Thelpusa	Thuria	Total
2											1						1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
2	4	1	15	4	10	11	1	1	21	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	126

*Byzantine*

	Constantinople	Thessalonica	Cyzicus	Nicomedia	Antioch	Alexandria	Uncertain	Total
Anastasius I, 491-518....	20						9	29
Justin I, 518-527.....	30			1			1	32
Justinian I, 527-565....	25	1			3	3		32
Justin II, 565-578.....	25	10	4	23	13	5	4	84
Tiberius II, 578-582....	1				3			4
Maurice, 582-602.....	4			1	4	1		10
Phocas, 602-610.....	2						1	3
Heraclius, 610-641.....	1			1		1	2	5
Constans II, 641-668....	5							5
	113	11	4	26	23	10	17	204

*Umayyad*

	Palestine						Syria			Harrân? Mesopotamia	Abrashahr, Khorasan	Unknown Mint
	Al-Urdunn	Ascalon	Baysan	Ludd	Al-Ramlah	Tabariyah	Amman	Busri?	Dimishq			
Undated.....	5	1	32	1	2	27	3	1	13			182
711 A.D.....											2	
734 A.D.....										8		4
'Abd-al-Malikibn Marwān, 685-705 A.D.....												2

*Miscellaneous*


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'Abbāsids.....	2	Sassanian.....	1
Bahri Mamlūks.....	2	Vandalic.....	1
Burji Mamlūks.....	5	Barbarous.....	13
Ottoman.....	1		

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The early Roman data, meagre as they are, show the importance of the great Syrian mint of Antioch which is intermitted only in the second century when the cities of the Decapolis themselves were striking. Palestinian mints reappear in the third century, with an anomalous number of specimens from Neapolis in the reign of Severus Alexander whose abundant issues from Antioch are only once represented, but of the Phoenician towns, only Tyre appears, and that rarely. Trajan's five pieces from Alexandria are the sole instances of contact with Egypt until the fourth century. The two coins from Thelpusa and Thuria in the Peloponnesus are to be connected with similar pieces found at Dura.<sup>3</sup> Seyrig in a recent note<sup>4</sup> has rightly explained these as traces of Caracalla's eastern campaign.

From the time when provincial mints begin the issue of imperial Antoniniani, Antioch retains first place until the fifth century. For the period of Constantine comparative material is furnished by a

<sup>3</sup> e. g. *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Reports*, III, p. 146; IV, p. 262; VI, p. 478.

<sup>4</sup> *Syria*, 1936, pp. 174-176.



Constantinian hoard from North Palestine.<sup>5</sup> Considering the scarcity of such records it may be useful to show the mints represented.

Jerash		Palestine Hoard
20	Antioch	137
12	Rome	21
9	Nicomedia	59
7	Cyzicus	60
6	Alexandria	55
6	Thessalonica	29
4	Heraclea	20
2	Constantinople	54
2	Aquileia	2
1	Arles	2
	Siscia	5
	Treves	2

This comparison of strictly contemporary material shows divergence in the positions of Rome, Alexandria and Constantinople. The difference is somewhat abated by the inclusion of coins of the sons of Constantine from Jerash, which would rank the mints (disregarding the accidental examples from the west) as follows: 1 Antioch, 2 Rome, 3 Cyzicus, 4 Alexandria, 5 Thessalonica, 6 Constantinople, 7 Nicomedia, 8 Heraclea; while in the Palestinian hoard they are: 1 Antioch, 2 Cyzicus, 3 Nicomedia, 4 Alexandria, 5 Constanti-

<sup>5</sup> *Palestine Department of Antiquities Quarterly II* (1932), pp. 113 ff.

nople, 6 Thessalonica, 7 Rome, 8 Heraclea. That leaves Rome with a much higher, Constantinople and Nicomedia with a much lower proportional representation at Jerash. Such data are, of course, not conclusive, but their gradual accumulation will eventually give us much valuable information about trade relations in the fourth century.

The striking thing about the Byzantine series is the prominent place occupied by Justin II and particularly by the mint of Nicomedia in his reign. Unfortunately the literary records give us no help in explaining this phenomenon, and the attempt to connect it with known events such as the Persian war which began in the late summer of 572 ends in gratuitous theorizing. What little Byzantine material is available from Palestine gives no indication of especial activity there under Justin II or of any particular connection with Nicomedia, but it is so slight that its negative evidence cannot be relied on.<sup>6</sup> That this is not merely an accidental disproportion, however, is shown by the fact that the Arabic imitations next to be discussed are copied from a *folles* of Justin II from Nicomedia. After Constans II comes the Saracen conquest and there is no further trace of Roman officialdom at Jerash.

<sup>6</sup> The only considerable number of Byzantine coins which has come to my attention is a hoard from Mount Carmel (C. Lambert, *Palestine Department of Antiquities Quarterly* I [1931], pp. 55ff.) but as that includes only one piece of Justin II it is of no great service. Nicomedia is there distinctly third with Constantinople and Antioch first and second.

The most interesting group of coins is that consisting of the imitations of *folles* of Justin II bearing the name "Scythopolis." Some of these have been published by Mr. John Walker.<sup>7</sup> He was then inclined to believe, as his title shows, that they were the product of a temporary provincial Byzantine mint operated at Baysan, the ancient Scythopolis. With this conclusion I found it impossible to agree, and I am happy to say that when all the material had been submitted to him he replied that it now seemed more likely that the coins were Arabic as I contended.

The article makes two points: first, that there is no Arabic legend on the coins, which would make them exceptional if they were struck by the conquerors; second, that there is no subsequent use of the mint of Baysan by the Arabs, whereas it certainly had been used earlier by the Romans.<sup>8</sup> The second is disposed of by the last piece in our list (p. 122, No. 514) for whose proper description Mr. Walker himself is responsible.<sup>8a</sup> He writes me, "There can be no doubt that your unique specimen was struck under the Arabs, since it bears an Arabic legend under the M. That name unfortunately is none too clear, but I can have little hesitation in believing that it stands for *بيسن* i.e. Baysan which was the Arabic name for

<sup>7</sup> "A New Byzantine Mint and some Early Umayyad Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1935, pp. 120-126.

<sup>8</sup> De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 287-290.

<sup>8a</sup> See also No. 536, the identification of which is due to Dr. Miles.

Bethshan or Scythopolis. In that case it resembles the coins struck by the Arabs at Damascus with ΔAMACKOC on the obverse, and the Arabic equivalent دمشق Dimishk on the reverse in the exergue." The simplest conclusion would be that our other pieces are earlier Islamic coins of a type finally regarded as unsatisfactory because they bore no Arabic inscription, and that this last one is an attempt to meet that objection by putting an Arabic mint mark in the exergue and moving the NIKO which had previously stood there to the right, the normal position for the date.

It might still be insisted, however, that the earlier ones must be Byzantine because they have no Arabic inscriptions. To this there are counter-objections which seem to me of much greater weight.

At the time of Justin II the Byzantine coinage was in a period of decline but by no means of chaos. Nine mints were issuing bronze, four of them, Constantinople, Nicomedia, Cyzicus and Antioch, striking uniform *folles* of the type originated by Anastasius I and perfected by Justinian I in 538. (The *folles* of Carthage differ somewhat, though their basic design is the same.) In 572 therefore, the date at which our coins purport to have been struck, the type was thirty-four years old, and it continued in use for forty years or so more. Under these conditions any innovation would be matter for remark, but on our pieces we find two of the most extraordinary kind. In the first place the Emperor's name is replaced on the obverse by the word "Scythopolis." This is in

violation of a tradition as old as Augustus which continued without interruption as long as the Byzantine series lasted. There are cases, as on some of the coins of Heraclius, where the obverse bears no inscription at all. There are cases in the 11th century where the Emperor's portrait is replaced by that of Christ or the Virgin in which case the obverse inscription is, of course, appropriate to them. There are also cases where the Emperor's name is combined with some pious formula. But the only exception to the general rule, that when the imperial portrait is accompanied by an inscription it must be the imperial name, is the case where the phrase ENTOYTONIKA stands on the obverse of Constans II. Such a substitution as the one on our coins is without parallel and must have seemed a monstrosity to the citizens.

Yet this is not the most remarkable feature of the matter. The name of the town thus intruded on the obverse announces that the coin was struck in two different places, for the exergue of the reverse regularly bears the letters NIKO, the mint mark of Nicomedia. If an imperial mint was to be established in a new town it would be simple enough to substitute the proper letters in the proper place, as was done by Heraclius in the case of Isaura, where the *folles* bear the mark ISAYR. It is simply incredible that any official could have produced a contradiction such as this double mint mark. Indeed it seems incredible that such a thing should have been done even without official supervision as, for example, if the town were

in revolt and coined its money independently of the imperial system. Surely then too the citizens would have removed the name of Nicomedia. And of course there is no ground whatever for suggesting that Scythopolis was at any time in revolt.

The chief explanation of these aberrations must lie not in the ignorance of the moneyers, but in their indifference. Yet ignorance is a factor as well. Aside from barbarisms such as the reversal of the N of which the imperial mints would be quite capable, we find many of the pieces on which the O of the mint mark is combined with the date, while others have impossible mint marks like ONIK. The proportionately large number of these imitation *folles* makes it evident that the issue was a very large one and the degrees of degeneracy in the type very strongly suggest that the issue was of considerable duration. Yet it clings obstinately to the same date (572), where the date is a possible one at all, except for our Nos. 512 and 513 and Mr. Walker's V, which have XII and XI respectively. It is to be noted too that the *officina* mark is almost always A, once B, once Γ (Mr. Walker's V) and once E. But if there were two *officinae*, A and B should be of fairly equal frequency, while the real existence of a third and a fifth is extremely doubtful: Nicomedia and Cyzicus had only two. It is worth noting that both the Γ and the E pieces are very barbarous in style and have Arabic countermarks.

To be sure, we are not dealing with evidence from Baysan itself. Mr. Newell informs me that the Uni-

versity of Pennsylvania's excavations on that site have produced no unmistakable specimen of these *folles*, but it is to be hoped that eventually we shall have more information from the place of minting. In the meanwhile, it seems to me that we must reject the theory of an official or semi-official Byzantine origin for these coins. In Jerash, at least, orthodox *folles* of Justin II continued to circulate in and after 572, and it is hard to believe that Baysan can have been so cut off from the rest of the empire as to produce this progressively barbarous series while its neighbors were using the official issues.

Rather, in spite of the difficulties, we must accept the theory of Arabic origin. In 634, while Abu-'Ubaydah was besieging Damascus, Abu-al-A-'war was sent to the Jordan to hold in check the Byzantine army of Palestine, which was concentrated at Baysan. After the capture of Damascus the main force of Saracens relieved him and in the late summer fought and defeated the Roman army. After some resistance Baysan capitulated, and the cities east of the Jordan, Jerash among them, followed suit.<sup>9</sup> The next two or three years were occupied with the conquest of Palestine and it is to this period that I should assign the coinage from Scythopolis intended for circulation in the newly won territory, patterned on a familiar Byzantine model and struck, reasonably enough, in the town that had been the military headquarters of the beaten enemy. To the conquerors it

<sup>9</sup>Sir William Muir, *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, pp. 150-153.

would matter not at all that the omission of the imperial title was without precedent or that the double mint-mark was nonsense. All that was necessary for them was money of familiar appearance whose place of issue was identified. It is no cause for surprise that they wrote the town's name in Greek: the same was done for Damascus, Emesa, Heliopolis and Tiberias. Increased carelessness and the commission of blunders in various elements of the inscription would be natural enough since there was no central control and mistakes were merely offenses against the system of a beaten enemy. But eventually, dissatisfied with imitation and reluctant to perpetuate types which strict religious principles forbade them, the Saracens invented a bronze currency for general use—the familiar coins with nothing but the formula of faith—and the earlier local coinages fell into disuse. Between that time and the introduction of the “Scythopolis” pieces there is, I believe, an intermediate state, represented by our No. 514 already discussed.

Proof that these *folles* were not entirely withdrawn even after the introduction of the new type is found in No. 507 (Mr. Walker's IV) where the whole formula of faith is struck over the Byzantine type. I should suppose that the pieces countermarked طيب “good,” also belong to the period of uniform Ummayyad currency, though the word occurs as part of the type on coins of Emesa.<sup>10</sup> These offer another analogy to our

<sup>10</sup>B. M. C. Oriental Coins, Vol. IX, pp. 6, 9.



pieces in that the obverse inscription is not the Emperor's name. It is KAAON to correspond to طيب. At any rate, it implied that part of the population among which they circulated was not familiar with Greek.<sup>11</sup>

But there is one serious difficulty which can neither be avoided nor entirely resolved. Why should the Arabs choose a coin sixty years old to imitate rather than a contemporary piece? From the other Syrian mints, it is Heraclius and his sons who appear and we should expect the same here. A partial explanation is supplied by our list which shows the much greater frequency of coins of Justin II than of those of his successors. There is no accounting for this except by the general decay of the country in the troubles of the late sixth and early seventh centuries, but, assuming that conditions in Baysan were like those in Jerash, *folles* of Justin II may well have been not only still in circulation (of that there can hardly be a doubt) but actually commoner than later issues, so that the Saracens may perfectly well have regarded them as the standard coin.

Such of the later Ummayyad coins as bear mint marks are chiefly from Tiberias, with Damascus in second place, showing that the relations of the town in Islamic times lay chiefly to the north. Its prosperity evidently did not long outlast the Ummayyads for pieces of later date are negligible.

Of the barbarous imitations it is impossible to speak with confidence, but the presence of one coin of

<sup>11</sup> See appendix.

Huneric (if it is his) makes it possible that some of the others are also of African origin.

### CATALOGUE

The numbering is by types. Numbers with asterisks indicate types appearing on the plates. The British Museum Catalogues are indicated by the abbreviations B. M. Pal., etc.

#### Jewish Coins

John Hyrcanus, 135–104 B.C.

1–4. Inscription within laurel wreath, tied at the bottom.

*Rev.* Double cornucopia with poppy heads between.  
13–15 mm. B. M. Pal. cf. pp. 190 ff., Nos. 15 ff.  
4 specimens.

Herod Archelaus, 4 B.C.–6 A.D.

5. Bunch of grapes with leaf.

*Rev.* Helmet with crest.  
14 mm. B. M. Pal. pp. 232 f.  
1 specimen.

Herod Agrippa, 37–44 A.D.

6. ΒΑCΙΑΕΩC [ΑΓ]ΠΙ[ΠΑ Umbrella.

*Rev.* Three ears of barley.  
17 mm. B. M. Pal. pp. 236 f.  
1 specimen.

The Procurators under Augustus 6–15 A.D.

7. ΚΑΙC Ear of barley.

*Rev.* Palm tree with bunches of fruit.  
17 mm. B. M. Pal. pp. 248 ff.  
1 specimen.

*Palestine*

Domitian. Judaea Capta, 92, 93 A.D.

8. IMP DOMITIANVS CAES AVG GERMANICVS  
Head l., bare.

*Rev.* Helmeted Athena with spear and shield l.,  
putting helmet on trophy.

22 mm. *B. M. Pal.* p. 282, Nos. 45 ff.  
1 specimen.

**Civic Mints****PHOENICIA***Aradus*

185–139 B.C.

9. Head of Zeus, r.

*Rev.* Triple-pointed ram of galley, l. Inscription  
obliterated.

15 mm. *B. M. Phoen.* pp. 16 f., Nos. 104 ff.  
1 specimen.

*Berytus*

Colonial Coinage, 15 B.C.–98 A.D.

10\*. [COL] Marsyas l., carrying wine skin.

*Rev.* BER Prow, r.

12 mm. *B. M. Phoen.* p. 56, Nos. 27 ff.  
1 specimen.

*Sidon*

Antiochus VII, 138–129 B.C.

11. Head r., laur.

*Rev.* Galley r. Inscription illegible. Circle of  
dots.

15 mm. Rouvier. *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique* V (1902) p. 128, No. 1261.  
1 specimen.

### *Tyre*

Ptolemy Philadelphus, 271–246 B.C.

12. Head of Zeus, r., diad.

*Rev.* ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥΤ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Eagle l. on thunderbolt. In field l., club.

21 mm. Svoronos II p. 104, No. 709.  
1 specimen.

End of 2nd Cent. B.C.

13. Head of Tyche, r.

*Rev.* Palm tree with bunches of fruit.

13 mm. *B. M. Phoen.* p. 253, No. 247.  
1 specimen.

98/7 B.C.–84/5 A.D.

14. Head of Tyche r. with veil.

*Rev.* Galley l., aphlaston at stern. Inscription illegible.

18 mm. *B. M. Phoen.* pp. 255 f.  
1 specimen.

93/4–153/4 A.D.

15. Similar.

*Rev.* Similar.

13 mm. *B. M. Phoen.* pp. 261 f., Nos. 299 ff.  
3 specimens.

Caracalla, 211–217

16\*. IMP M]AVR ANTONINVS Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* SEPTVR[VS METC]OLONI Astarte l. with r. on trophy, at her l. palm tree; crowned by Nike on column at her r.

32 mm. Cf. *B. M. Phoen.* p. 270, Nos. 372 f. The size and the palm tree are like 18 but the reverse inscription shows that it is a coin of Caracalla, not Elagabalus.

1 specimen.

Caracalla, 211–217

17. -- ANTONINOCCE. Head r., laur.

*Rev.* ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΥΠΙΑΤΟC[ΤΟ Δ] Spread eagle, head l. Beneath, murex shell.

Tetradrachm *B. M. Phoen.* p. 304, Nos. 38–41.

1 specimen.

Elagabalus, 218–222

18. Inscription illegible. Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* Inscription illegible. Similar to 16.

29 mm. *B. M. Phoen.* pp. 273 f., Nos. 388 ff.

1 specimen.

Gordian III, 238–244

19\*. IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* COL TYRME Nude figure standing l., r. raised to shoulder; in l. cornucopia. In field, l., blazing altar; in field r., murex shell (?).

25 mm.

1 specimen.

*Ptolemais-Ace*

Second Century B.C.

20. Heads of Dioscuri r., laur., jugate.

*Rev.* Cornucopia. Inscription illegible.

15 mm. *B. M. Phoen.* p. 128.

1 specimen.

21. Same. (Only one head visible.)

*Rev.* Cornucopia; to r., -- ΤΟΑΕ -- to l., - ΑΣ --  
11 mm. *B. M. Phoen.* p. 129, No. 10.  
1 specimen.

## PALESTINE

*Caesarea*

Severus Alexander, 222-235

22\*. IM -- Head r., laur.

*Rev.* Outer inscription illegible. Eagle displayed  
supporting wreath with SPQR  
19 mm. *B. M. Pal.* p. 28.  
3 specimens.

Trebonianus Gallus, 251-253

23. -- GALLVS PF AVG Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* --METR-- Tyche with short chiton and  
mantle, l.; r. foot on prow; in r. [human bust]; with  
l. leans on scepter at foot of which, behind her, half  
figure of river god.

24 mm. *B. M. Pal.* p. 39, Nos. 204-206.  
1 specimen.

*Sepphoris-Diocaesarea*

Caracalla, 211-217

24. Inscription illegible. Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* Inscription illegible. Tetrastyle temple within  
which Zeus seated l. In pediment, wreath.

29 mm. *B. M. Pal.* p. 4, No. 26. Badly corroded but  
reasonably certain.  
1 specimen.

*Neapolis*

## Macrinus, 217-218

25. ΑΤΤ ΜΟΠΣΕΜΑΚΡΙΝ - - Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* ΦΑΝ - - - ΠΙΑΣ ΠΑΑ Bust of Zeus, r.

28 mm. *B. M. Pal.* p. 59, No. 91.

1 specimen.

## Elagabalus, 218-222

26\*. ΑΤΤ - - - Ν - - Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* - - ΝΕΑ ΣΠ - - Π - Tyche l. with cornucopia and rudder.

20 mm. *B. M. Pal.* p. 61, No. 103.

1 specimen.

## Julia Maesa, 218-223

27. ΙΟΤ[ΑΙ]Α ΜΑΙΣΑ Bust r., with stephane.

*Rev.* - - ΕΑ[ΣΠΘΑ - - Tyche l. with cornucopia, leaning on scepter.

22 mm. *B. M. Pal.* p. 62, No. 111.

1 specimen.

## Severus Alexander, 222-235

28\*. Inscription illegible. Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* - - ΕΑΣ - - Mount Gerizim with colonnade and temple.

21 mm. *B. M. Pal.* p. 63, Nos. 112-115.

12 specimens.

## ARABIA PROVINCIA

*Philippopolis*

## Philip Sr., 244-249

29. ΑΤΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΔΙΦΙΑΙΠΠΟΣΣΕΒ Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* ΦΙΑΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝΚΟΛΩΝΙΑΣ Rome seated l. with spear and shield.

30 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 42, No. 4.  
1 specimen.

Otacilia, 244–249

30. ΜΑΡΩΤ]ΑΚΙΑΙΕΘΤΗΡΑΝΕΒ Bust r.

*Rev.* ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟ[ΛΙΤΩΝ ΚΟΛ[ΩΝΙΑC Rome seated l. holding eagle supporting two small figures and leaning on spear; beside her, shield. In field, SC.  
29 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 43, No. 9.  
2 specimens.

Philip Jr., 244–249

31. Inscription illegible. Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* Inscription illegible. Rome seated l. holding eagle and spear; beside her, shield.

28 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 43, No. 10.  
1 specimen.

Bostra

Diva Faustina, 140–161

32\*. Inscription illegible. Bust r., veiled.

*Rev.* Inscription illegible. Tyche standing front looking l., holding in r. long scepter.

17 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 17, No. 8.  
2 specimens.

Marcus Aurelius, 139–161

33. ΑΥΡΗΛ - - Bust r., bare headed.

*Rev.* Τ]ΤΥΧ[ΝΕΑ Τ]ΡΑΙ ΒΟC Bust of Tyche, r.  
17 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 18, Nos. 10 f.  
1 specimen.

Commodus, 177–192

34\*. Inscription illegible. Bust r.

*Rev.* - - ΒΟC Head of Zeus Ammon, r.  
20 mm. Cf. *B. M. Arab.* p. 18, No. 12. In general appearance this is much like the published coin, but there are



troublesome differences: it is larger; the horns and disk of Zeus Ammon are doubtful, indeed the head looks as though it were bound with a taenia which may be merely due to the battered condition of the coin; the inscription is visible only on the right and is far from clear. However, BOC[TPΩN] seems the likeliest reading and I can suggest no better attribution.

1 specimen.

35\*. - OC - - ON Bearded head, r. laur.

*Rev.* - - A BOC Bust of Tyche, r.

12 mm. The obverse is like *B. M. Arab.* pp. 18, f., Nos. 13 ff., the reverse like *B. M. Arab.* p. 18, Nos. 10 f. but smaller.

1 specimen.

#### Severus Alexander, 222-235

36. IMP CAES]MAVR[SEV ALEXANDER]AVG

Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* COLONIA BOSTRA Bust of Zeus Ammon, r.

19 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 21, Nos. 25-27.

2 specimens.

#### Julia Mamaea, 222-235

37\*. - - MA - - Bust r.

*Rev.* N TR[ALEXANDRIANAE Temple with four columns, pediment and arch; within, Tyche facing with spear and cornucopia. In ex. COL BOST

30 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 22, No. 31.

1 specimen.

38\*. IVLIA]MAMAEA AVGVSTA Bust r.

*Rev.* COLONIA BOSTRA Head of Zeus Ammon, r.

19 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 23, Nos. 35 f.

1 specimen.

## Philip Jr., 244-249

39. Inscription illegible. Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* In wreath AKTI/AΔOV/CAPIA, around,  
COL METROPOLIS BOSTRA

28 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 24, Nos. 41 ff.  
1 specimen.

*Gerasa*

## Hadrian, 117-138

40. Inscription illegible. Bust r.

*Rev.* Inscription illegible. Bust of Artemis r. on  
crescent.

26 mm. Cf. *B. M. Arab.* p. 31, Nos. 1, 2. DeSaulcy *Nu-  
mismatique de la Terre Sainte*, p. 385, No. 3, Pl. XXII, 1,  
for the crescent which does not appear on the pieces in  
*B. M. Arab.*  
1 specimen.

41\*. AVKTPA - - Head r.

*Rev.* APTEMI TVXH ΓEPACΩN Bust of Ar-  
temis r.

19 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 31, No. 3.  
2 specimens.

42\*. Same.

*Rev.* APTEM[TT]ΓEPACΩN Same type.

14 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 31, Nos. 4 ff.  
2 specimens.

## M. Aurelius, 161-180

43\*. Inscription obliterated. Bust r., obscure.

*Rev.* AN TΩΠP XPTΩΠPΓ - - (Obscure but cer-  
tain) Tyche standing l. with cornucopia and rudder;  
behind her, smaller figure of Emperor leaning on long  
scepter.

23 mm. Imhoof-Blumer. *Rev. Suisse* VIII (1898) p. 47, No. 1; *B. M. Arab.* Pl. XLIX, 18. The full inscription is Ἀντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς Χρυσορῶα τῶν πρότερον Γερασηνῶν cf. *B. M. Arab.* p. xxxiv.  
1 specimen.

44\*. ANTON (Dim but likely) Head r., laur.  
Obscure.

*Rev.* ANTI Tyche seated l. looking r.; her hands, clasped to r., hold ears of corn.

14 mm. This coin is unpublished. The reverse inscription at first suggested Antioch on the Orontes which issued small pieces (e.g. *B. M. Gal.* Pl. XXII) of similar fabric; but the attitude of Tyche is quite unlike that on the coins of Antioch and is attested for Gerasa by the next piece, while the inscription may be taken as a modification of that on the preceding one. It must be admitted, however, that the fabric does not look Gerasene.  
1 specimen.

45\*. - - NTON Head r. laur.

*Rev.* ΝΤΩΝ(or Π) Ρ ΠΩ(?) Tyche seated l. looking r.; her hands, clasped to r., hold ears of corn.

15 mm. Cf. *B. M. Arab.* p. xxxiv, note 4.  
1 specimen.

#### Commodus, 180-192

46\*. - - - ΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC (very obscure). Head r., apparently beardless.

*Rev.* ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡ - - - Tyche seated l. on rock; at her feet river-god swimming; she looks r. and her hands, clasped to r., hold ears of corn.

21 mm. Cf. Imhoof-Blumer. *Rev. Suisse* VIII (1898) p. 47, No. 2; *B. M. Arab.* Pl. XLIX, 19. Imhoof-Blumer's piece is struck by Lucius Verus and the inscription is that found on our 43. Commodus retained the type but reverted to the formula which Hadrian had used Ἀρτεμὶς Τύχη Γερασῶν.  
1 specimen.

*Crispina*

47. Inscription illegible. Bust r., hair in chignon.

*Rev.* - - ΑCΩN Bust of Artemis r., hair in chignon.

23 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 32, Nos. 8 f.

2 specimens.

*Philadelphia*

Antoninus Pius, 138-161

48. Inscription illegible. Bust r., bearded.

*Rev.* ΤΤΧΗ Φ - - Tyche standing r., l. foot on prow? in r. scepter; in l., cornucopia.

18 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 38, Nos. 7, 8.

1 specimen.

*Esbus?*

Commodus, 180-192

49\*. - - MODVS ANTONINUS AVG Head r., laur., beardless (?).

*Rev.* EIC BOV[C Figure, helmeted (?) standing l. leaning with l. on spear, in r. eagle (?).

17 mm. Very doubtful.

1 specimen.

## SYRIA

*Antioch*

Claudius, 41-54

50. Head r., laur.

*Rev.* SC in laurel wreath.

27 mm. *B. M. Gal.* p. 171, Nos. 166-168.

2 specimens.

## Nero, 54-68

51. Head r., laur.

*Rev.* SC in laurel wreath.21 mm. *B. M. Gal.* p. 173, No. 185.

2 specimens.

## Domitian, 81-96

52. Head r., laur.

*Rev.* SC in laurel wreath.27 mm. *B. M. Gal.* p. 180, Nos. 240 f.

1 specimen.

## Nerva, 96-98

53. IMP CAESA]R N[ERVA AVG]III C[OS Head  
r., laur.*Rev.* SC in laurel wreath; Γ beneath.28 mm. Cf. *B. M. Gal.* p. 182, Nos. 259 f.

1 specimen.

## Caracalla, 211-217

54\*. AYTOKMANTO - - - NOC Very obscure. Head  
r., laur.*Rev.* Within wreath, bust of Athena in plumed  
helmet r.; to l. and r., SC

19 mm. This is attributed to Antioch with the gravest doubt. The bust of Athena never appears on the published coins of that city and no such type has been found at Dura where the issues of Antioch are very common. Nor does the obverse inscription, so far as it can be made out, agree with that on the known bronze of Caracalla from Antioch (*B. M. Gal.* p. 194, Nos. 354-359). The fabric is not quite the same, though it would not make the attribution impossible. On the other hand, the legend SC without further inscription is characteristic of Antioch alone among the mints that are geographically possible; and this coin must represent a unique abnormality of that

mint or the unexplained usurpation of its distinction by some other city.  
1 specimen.

### Elagabalus, 212-222

55. ΑΤΤΚΜΑ - - Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕ - - Spread eagle, head l. Beneath, star. In field, l. and r. ΔΕ  
Tetradrachm. *B. M. Gal.* p. 202, Nos. 417 ff.  
1 specimen.

56. Bust r., laur. Inscription illegible.

*Rev.* ΑΝΤΙΟΧ - - Tyche seated l.; to l. and r. SC [ΔΕ]  
24 mm. Cf. *B. M. Gal.* p. 206, No. 457. Smaller than the published examples.  
1 specimen.

57. - - ΩΝΙ - - Head r., laur.

*Rev.* ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΜΚΟΑ Tyche seated l.; to l. and r. SC ΔΕ  
32 mm. *B. M. Gal.* p. 206, No. 461.  
2 specimens.

### Severus Alexander, 222-235

58. Bust r., laur. Inscription illegible.

*Rev.* ΑΝ[ΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ]ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΑΟ Bust of Tyche r.; to l. and r. SC ΔΕ  
31 mm. *B. M. Gal.* p. 210, No. 488.  
1 specimen.

### Philip Sr., 244-249

59. ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΝΑΙΦΙΑΙΠΠΟCCΕΒ Head r., laur.

*Rev.* ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΑΩΝ Bust of Tyche r.; to l. and r. SC ΔΕ Beneath bust, star.  
28 mm. Cf. *B. M. Gal.* pp. 214 f., Nos. 524 ff.  
2 specimens.

60. Same inscription. Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* Same.

28 mm. *B. M. Gal.* p. 215, No. 527.

2 specimens.

61. Same inscription. Bust l., rad. in cuirass with gorgoneion.

*Rev.* Same.

27 mm. *B. M. Gal.* p. 215, Nos. 529 f.

1 specimen.

Philip Sr. and Jr., 244–249

62. Inscription illegible. Busts confronted, Philip Sr. r., laur. Philip Jr., l., rad.

*Rev.* Same.

29 mm. *B. M. Gal.* p. 216, No. 535.

1 specimen.

Philip Jr., 244–249

63. Same inscription as 59. Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* Same.

28 mm. *B. M. Gal.* p. 219, Nos. 565 ff.

3 specimens.

*Damascus*

Demetrius III, 95–88 B.C.

64. Head r., rad.

*Rev.* - HMHTPI - Hermes standing l. holding palm and caduceus.

18 mm. *B. M. Sel.* p. 101, Nos. 5, 6.

1 specimen.

*Hieropolis*

Macrinus, 217–218

65\*. ΑΤΤ·Κ·Μ·ΟΠΕΛ·CΕ·ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC Bust r.,  
laur.

*Rev.* ΔΗΜΑΡΧ·ΕΞ·ΤΗΑΤΟC Spread eagle, head  
r., beneath, lion, r.  
Tetradrachm. Cf. *B. M. Gal.* p. 145, No. 54.  
1 specimen.

*Palmyra*

66\*. Male head? r.  
*Rev.* Female head? r.  
10 mm.  
1 specimen.

## EGYPT

*Alexandria*

Trajan, 98–117

104

67. Head r., laur.  
*Rev.* Jug with one handle. Year 7.  
14 mm. Dattari, *Numi Augustorum Alexandrini.* Cf.  
No. 1126.  
1 specimen.

108

68. Same.  
*Rev.* Same type. Year 11.  
14 mm. Dattari, No. 1127.  
1 specimen.

110

69\*. Same.  
*Rev.* Elephant r. Year 13.  
14 mm. Cf. *B. M. Alex.* p. 59, Nos. 491–493.  
1 specimen.



## 113

70\*. Same.

*Rev.* Hem hem crown of Harpokrates. Year 16.

13 mm. Cf. *B. M. Alex.* p. 68, No. 561.

1 specimen.

## 114

71. Same.

*Rev.* Same type. Year 17.

13 mm. *B. M. Alex.* p. 68, No. 561.

1 specimen.

## PAMPHYLIA

*Perga*

Philip Jr. (?), 244-249

72\*. € - - - Bust r., draped, laur.

*Rev.* ΠΕΡΓ - - Artemis huntress in short chiton, mantle flying behind and hunting boots, advancing r.; in l. bow, r. draws arrow from quiver behind shoulder,

27 mm. *B. M. Lycia* p. 132, No. 64.

1 specimen.

## GREECE

*Thelpusa*

Septimius Severus, 193-211

73\*. - - C CH - - Bust l., laur.

*Rev.* ΘΕΛΠ - - ΙΩΝ Tyche l. with rudder and cornucopia.

21 mm. A similar type, with Tyche holding patera and cornucopiae is given for Geta in Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* p. 102.

1 specimen.

*Thuria*

Caracalla, 211–217

74\*. Inscription illegible. Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* ΘΟΥΡΙΑ - - Tyche l., turreted, holding patera and [cornucopia]. In field., l. and r. Λ[Λ]21 mm. *B. M. Peloponnesus* p. 120, No. 7.

1 specimen.

## UNCERTAIN MINT

75. Inscription illegible. Young bust (Severus Alexander?) r., laur.

*Rev.* Inscription illegible. Figure within distyle shrine; r. hand raised? at feet, l., eagle?

18 mm.

1 specimen.

76\*. ΓΕΡΧΗ Rabbit r., feeding.

*Rev.* ΓΕΡΧΗ (?) Stag r.

11 mm.

2 specimens.




## Nabataean Coins

Aretas IV, 9 B.C.–40 A.D.

77\*. Busts jugate of Aretas and Shaqilath (his wife).

*Rev.* Two cornucopias; between them "Aretas Shaqilath" as in *B. M. Arab.* p. 8.17 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 8.

17 specimens.

78\*. Male figure standing l. wearing sword, r. hand raised  above.*Rev.* Female figure standing l., r. hand raised.To r.  ("Shaqilath")  (?) to l.

14 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. XX, Pl. XLIX, 11 (figuring a coin in Berlin). The letter □ on the obverse is not shown in the published examples. As it is like the initial beside the head of Aretas (?) (*B. M. Arab.* p. 10, Nos. 32 f., Pl. II, 10, 11) it seems likely that this is an issue—perhaps fractional—of Aretas rather than of Malichus II as conjectured by Hill.

4 specimens.

Rabbel II, 71–106 A.D.

79\*. Busts jugate of Rabbel and Gamilath (his sister).

*Rev.* Two cornucopias; between them “Rabbel Gamilath” as in *B. M. Arab.* p. 13.

18 mm. *B. M. Arab.* p. 13.

3 specimens.

### Roman Imperial Coins

Trajan, 98–117

Sestertius, 103–117

80. IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM[TRP COS V (or VI) PP Head r., laur.

*Rev.* SPQR[OPTIMO PRINCIPI Standing figure (Ceres?) l. In field SC

32 mm. *R. I. C.* II, pp. 277 ff.

1 specimen.

Dupondius

81. -- NO AVG Head r., laur.

*Rev.* Standing figure.

27 mm.

1 specimen.

Quadrans

82. IMP CAES TRAIAN AVG GERM Bust of Hercules r. with lion's skin.

*Rev.* Boar walking r. In ex. SC  
 16 mm. *R. I. C.* II, p. 294, No. 702.  
 1 specimen.

Hadrian, 117–138

As

83. Inscription illegible. Head r., laur.  
*Rev.* Obliterated.  
 32 mm.  
 1 specimen.

Faustina I, 138–141

As (Posthumous)

84. DIVA FAVSTINA Bust r.  
*Rev.* AETERNITAS Fortuna l. with globe and  
 rudder. In ex. SC  
 33 mm. *R. I. C.* III, p. 166, No. 1160.  
 1 specimen.

85. Same.  
*Rev.* IVNO Juno l. with patera and scepter. In  
 field SC  
 33 mm. *R. I. C.* III, p. 168, No. 1190.  
 1 specimen.

Marcus Aurelius, 161–180

As, 161

86. IMP CAES M AVREL ANTONINVS AVG PM  
 head r.  
*Rev.* CONCORD AVGVSTOR TRPXV COSIII  
 SC M. Aurelius and L. Verus clasping hands.  
 33 mm. *R. I. C.* III, p. 277, No. 801.  
 1 specimen.

## Denarius, 169

87. M ANTONINVS AVG TRP XXIII Head r.,  
laur.

*Rev.* FELICITAS AVG COSIII Felicitas stand-  
ing l. with caduceus and scepter.

*R. I. C.* III, p. 229, No. 203.  
1 specimen.

## Julia Mamaea, 222-235

## As

88. IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* FELICITAS PVBLICA Felicitas looking l.,  
legs crossed, holding a caduceus and leaning on a  
column.

30 mm. Cohen IV, p. 492, No. 21.  
1 specimen.

## Philip Sr., 244-249

## As

89. IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* PAX AETERNA Peace running l. with  
olive branch and scepter.

28 mm. Cohen V, p. 104, No. 106.  
1 specimen.

## Trajan Decius, 249-251

## As

90. IMP]CMQTRAIAN[VS DECIVS AVG Bust  
r., laur.

*Rev.* GENIVS EX]ER ILLYR[ICIANI Genius,  
nude, with modius r., sacrificing on lighted altar and  
holding cornucopia. To r. military standard.

28 mm. Cohen V, p. 190, No. 54.  
1 specimen.

## Trebonianus Gallus, 251-253

As

91. -- TREB -- Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* [FELICITAS PVBLICA] Felicitas l. with caduceus and cornucopia.30 mm. Cohen V, p. 241, No. 40.  
1 specimen.

## Gallienus, 253-268

Antoniniani

*Antioch*

256-7

92. IMP[GALLIEN]VS A[VG] Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* VICTORIA GERMAN Emperor l. holding globe and spear, receiving wreath from Victory, r.Cf. *R. I. C. V.* 1, p. 104, No. 452, which gives "sceptre" instead of "spear."  
1 specimen.

93\*. IMP C P LIC GALLIENVVS PFAVG Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* VIRTVS AVG Emperors standing facing each other, one holding Victory, the other, globe.*R. I. C. V.* 1, p. 104, No. 456.  
1 specimen.

260

94. GALLIENVVS PFAVG Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* ROMAE AETERNAE Rome seated l. with shield, Victory and spear.*R. I. C. V.* 1, p. 188, No. 654.  
1 specimen.

*Antioch*

266

95. GALLIENVS AVG Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* MINERVA AVG Minerva l. leaning on shield and holding spear. In ex. VIIC*R. I. C. V.* 1, p. 185, No. 617.

2 specimens.

96. GALLIENVS AVG Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* PIETAS AVG Emperor r. holding sceptre and sacrificing on tripod.*R. I. C. V.* 1, p. 186, No. 618.

1 specimen.

267

97. Same.

*Rev.* AETERNITAS AVG Saturn r., with sceptre.*R. I. C. V.* 1, p. 184, No. 606.

1 specimen.

98. Same.

*Rev.* IOVI CONSERVAT Jupiter l. with globe and scepter. In ex. PXV*R. I. C. V.* 1, p. 185, No. 608.

1 specimen.

260-268

99. Same.

*Rev.* AETERNITATI AVG Sol l. raising r. hand and holding globe. In field l., star.*R. I. C. V.* 1, p. 187, No. 630.

1 specimen.

100. Same.

*Rev.* IOVI PROPVG Jupiter walking l. with thunderbolt and scepter.

*R. I. C. V. 1*, p. 188, No. 643.  
1 specimen.

101. Same.

*Rev.* MARS V[ICTOR or [L TOR Type destroyed.  
*R. I. C. V. 1*, p. 188, No. 649 or 650.  
1 specimen.

102. Same.

*Rev.* SOLI INVICTO Sol l. raising r. and holding globe.  
*R. I. C. V. 1*, p. 189, No. 658.  
1 specimen.

### Claudius II, 268–270

#### Antoniniani

#### *Antioch*

103. IMP C CLAVDIVS AVG Head l., rad.

*Rev.* AEQVITAS AVG Aequitas l. with scales and cornucopia.  
*R. I. C. V. 1*, p. 228, No. 197.  
1 specimen.

104. IMP C CLAVDIVS AVG Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* IVNO REGINA Juno l., holding patera and scepter.  
*R. I. C. V. 1*, p. 229, No. 212.  
1 specimen.

105. Same inscription. Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* V[IRTVS AVG Soldier l. with laurel branch and spear; at foot, shield. In ex. S  
Cf. *R. I. C. V. 1*, p. 219, No. 113 (Rome) VIRTUS AVGVSTI Same type, and *R. I. C. V. 1*, p. 230, No. 225 (Antioch) VIRTUS AVG Minerva; in ex. S  
1 specimen.



Aurelian, 270–275

Antoniniani

*Tripolis*

106. IMP AVRELIANVS AVG Bust cuirassed, l., rad.

*Rev.* SOLI INVICTO Sol l., r. hand raised, holding globe in l., at feet, captive. In ex. KA

*R. I. C. V.* 1, p. 309, No. 390.  
1 specimen.

107. Same inscription. Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* RESTITVT ORBIS Woman r. presenting wreath to Emperor l. who holds spear. In ex. Γ

*R. I. C. V.* 1, p. 310, No. 399 has A in ex.  
1 specimen.

Probus, 276–282

Antoniniani

*Siscia*

108\*. IMP C M AVR PROBVS PF AVG Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* CLEMENTIA TEMP Emperor r. with eagle-topped scepter, receiving globe from Jupiter l. with long scepter. Between, B In ex. XXI

*R. I. C. V.* 2, p. 86, No. 643.  
1 specimen.

109. Same.

*Rev.* Same, but between, ϣ  
*R. I. C. V.* 2 p. 86, No. 643.  
1 specimen.

*Antioch*

110. Same inscription. Bust r., rad. in cuirass.

*Rev.* RESTITVT ORBIS Woman r. presenting wreath to Emperor l. holding globe and scepter

Between, A. In ex. XXI

*R. I. C. V. 2*, p. 120, No. 925.

1 specimen.

111. Same.

*Rev.* Same, but between, B

*R. I. C. V. 2* p. 120, No. 925.

1 specimen.

Numerianus, Caesar, 282-283

Antoninianus

*Antioch*

112\*. IMP C M AVR NVMERIANVS NOB C

Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* VIRTVS AVG Numerianus r. holding scepter, receiving globe from Jupiter l. holding scepter.

Between, H. In ex. XXI

*R. I. C. V. 2*, p. 191, No. 376.

1 specimen.

Numerianus, 283-284

Antoninianus

*Antioch*

113. IMP C M AVR NVMERIANVS PF AVG

Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* VIRTVS AVGG Emperor standing r. holding scepter receiving globe surmounted by Victory

from Jupiter l. holding long scepter; in field, between,

H In ex. XXI

*R. I. C. V. 2, p. 202, No. 466.*

1 specimen.

Diocletian, 284–305

Antoniniani

*Antioch*

284

114. IMP CC VAL DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG

Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG Emperor r. holding scepter receiving Victory on globe from Jupiter l. holding scepter. Between figures H. In ex. XXI

*R. I. C. V. 2, p. 256, No. 324.*

1 specimen.

*Rome*

285

115. IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* IOVI CONSERVAT AVG Jupiter l. with thunderbolt and scepter. In ex. XXIA

*R. I. C. V. 2 p. 236, No. 161.*

1 specimen.

Maximianus Herculeus, 285–305

Antoniniani

*Antioch*

285–295

116. IMP C M AVR VAL MAXIMIANVS PF

AVG Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* IOV ET HERCV CONSER AVGG Jupiter r. with globe and scepter facing Hercules with Victory, club and lion's skin.

*R. I. C. V.* 2, p. 294, No. 622.

1 specimen.

*Cyzicus*

c. 293

117\*. IMP C M A MAXIMIANVS AVG Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* CONCORDIA MILITVM Emperor r., receiving Victory on globe from Jupiter l. Between, € In ex. XXI

Cf. *R. I. C. V.* 2, p. 291, No. 607 (the obverse inscription is that of Nos. 603, 605).

1 specimen.

295–305

118\*. IMP C M A MAXIMIANVS P F AVG Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* CONCORDIA MI LITVM Same type. Between, ΚΔ

Cohen VI, p. 499, No. 54.

1 specimen.

*Alexandria*

306–308

119\*. DN MAXIMIANO BAEATISSI Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* PROVIDENTIA DEORVM Providentia r. facing Tranquillitas l. who holds branch and leans on scepter. Between, Γ. In ex. ALE

22 mm. Maurice III p. 233, XIV, 8.

1 specimen.

## Constantius Chlorus, Caesar, 292–305

*Rome*

120. CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES Head r., laur.

*Rev.* SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS NN  
Moneta l. with scales and cornucopia. In ex. Γ and club.

30 mm. Cohen VII, p. 84, No. 267.

1 specimen.

121. Same inscription. Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* GENIO POPVLI ROMANI Genius l. with patera and cornucopia. In field B In ex. PL

26 mm. Cohen VII p. 68, No. 125.

1 specimen.

## Galerius Maximianus, Caesar, 295–305

## Antoninianus

*Heraclea*

122. GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* CONCORDIA MILITVM Caesar r. with scepter and parazonium receiving Victory on globe from Jupiter l. Between, HΔ

Cohen VII pp. 104 f., Nos. 22 f.

1 specimen.

## Licinius, 307–324

*Rome*

## 312–313

123. IMP LICINIVS PFAVG Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* SOLI INVICTO COMITI Sol nude l. raising r. and holding globe. In field l., star. In ex. RT

20 mm. Maurice I p. 203, II, 3.

1 specimen.

## 313 or 315-317

124. IMP LICINIUS PF AVG Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* SOLI INVICTO COMITI Sol nude l. raising r. and holding globe. In ex. RS In field to l. S, and to r., F.

21 mm. Maurice I p. 210, 2.  
2 specimens.

*Aquileia*

## 312-313

125. Same.

*Rev.* IOVI CONSERVATORI Jupiter l. with scepter and thunderbolt. In ex. AQS

19 mm. Maurice I p. 310, IV.  
1 specimen.

*Heraclea*

## 315-317

126. Same inscription. Bust l. holding globe and scepter.

*Rev.* PROVIDENTIAE AVGG Gate of camp with three turrets. In ex. HTΔ

20 mm. Maurice II p. 578, II, 1.  
1 specimen.

## 320-324

127. IMP C VAL[LICIN LICINIUS PF AVG  
Bust r., rad. in cuirass.

*Rev.* IOVI CONSERVATORI Jupiter nude l. holding globe and Victory; to l., eagle with wreath in beak; to r., captive. In ex. SMHT In field r. X/III

16 mm. Maurice II p. 590, I, 1.  
1 specimen.

*Antioch*

317-319

128. IMP LICINIUS AVG Bust l. with globe, scepter and thunderbolt.

*Rev.* IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG Jupiter nude l. holding Victory and scepter. At his feet, captive. In field r. B In ex. SMANT

18 mm. Maurice III p. 193, I, 2.  
1 specimen.

Licinius, Jr., 320-324

*Thessalonica*

129. LICINIUS IVN NOB CAES Bust l., laur.

*Rev.* VIRTUS EXERCIT Standard with VOT/XX, to l. and r., S F; at its feet, two captives, bound. In ex. TSA

19 mm. Maurice II p. 449, X, 3.  
1 specimen.

Constantine I, 306-337

*Rome*

312-313

130. IMP C CONSTANTINVS P F AVG Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* SOLI INVICTO COMITI Sol standing front, looking l.; holding globe and raising r. In ex. RS

24 mm. Maurice I p. 203, II, 2.  
1 specimen.

## 313-317

131. IMP CONSTANTINVS PF AVG Bust r.,  
laur.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In field, RF In  
ex. R\*Q

22 mm. Maurice I p. 210, I, 1.  
1 specimen.

## 317-320

132. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In field, l., A  
In ex. RQ

19 mm. Maurice I p. 220, II.  
2 specimens.

133. Same.

*Rev.* Same, but letter in field S

19 mm. Maurice I p. 220, II.  
1 specimen.

134. Same.

*Rev.* Same, but letter in field illegible.

19 mm. Maurice I p. 220, II.  
1 specimen.

*Arles*

## 317-320

135. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In field CS In  
ex. QARL

20 mm. Maurice II p. 158, I, 1.  
1 specimen.



*Ticinum*

314-317

136. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In field, l., star.  
In ex. ST -

20 mm. Maurice II p. 249, I, 3.  
1 specimen.

*Thessalonica*

312-313

137 IMP C CONSTANTINVS PFAVG Bust r.,  
laur.

*Rev.* IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG NN Jupiter  
l., holding globe and leaning on scepter. At his feet  
l., eagle. In ex. ·TS·B·

23 mm. Maurice II p. 431, I, 4.  
1 specimen.

*Constantinople*

333-335

138. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with  
two standards. In ex. CONSA

19 mm. Maurice II p. 529, III, 1.  
1 specimen.

139. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. CONSA

19 mm. Maurice II p. 529, III, 1.  
1 specimen.

*Nicomedia*

335-337

140. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMNB17 mm. Maurice III p. 73, I, 1.  
1 specimen.

141. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMN€17 mm. Maurice III p. 73, I, 1.  
3 specimens.

142. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription. Two soldiers with one  
standard. In ex. SMNB17 mm. Maurice III, pp. 74 f., IV, 1.  
1 specimen.

143. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMNç17 mm. Maurice III p. 74f. IV, 1.  
2 specimens.*Cyzicus*

324-326

144. CONSTANTINVS AVG Head r., laur.

*Rev.* PROVIDENTIAE AVGG Gate. In ex.  
SMKA19 mm. Maurice III p. 127, I, 1.  
1 specimen.

335-337

145. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with  
two standards. In ex. SMKB17 mm. Maurice III pp. 137, III, 1.  
1 specimen.

146. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMKϥ

17 mm. Maurice III p. 137, III, 1.

1 specimen.

*Antioch*

318–324

147. IMP C FL VAL CONSTANTINVS PF AVG

Bust r., rad.

*Rev.* IOVI CONSERVATORI Jupiter nude l. holding Victory and scepter. At his feet to l. eagle, to r. captive. In field r. X/IIIF In ex. SMANT

21 mm. Maurice III p. 195, I, 1.

1 specimen.

324–326

148. CONSTANTINVS AVG Head r., laur.

*Rev.* PROVIDENTIAE AVGG Gate. In ex. SMANTA

20 mm. Maurice III p. 202, I, 1.

2 specimens.

149. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMANT€

20 mm. Maurice III p. 202, I, 1.

1 specimen.

150. No inscription. Head r., laur.

*Rev.* Within a wreath CONSTAN/TINVS/AVG In ex. SMANTB

18 mm. Maurice III p. 204, VI.

1 specimen.

## 333-335

151. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with  
two standards. In ex. SMANΔ  
18 mm. Maurice III, p. 210, I, 1.  
1 specimen.

## 335-337

152. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription. Two soldiers with one  
standard. In ex. SMANA  
16 mm. Maurice III p. 212, II, 1.  
2 specimens.

153. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMANB  
16 mm. Maurice III p. 212, II, 1.  
2 specimens.

154. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMANΔ  
16 mm. Maurice III p. 212, II, 1.  
1 specimen.

## Posthumous

155. DV CONSTANTINVS PT AVGG Bust r.,  
veiled.

*Rev.* Quadriga r. In ex. SMANϣ  
16 mm. Maurice III p. 217, I.  
1 specimen.

156. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMANZ  
16 mm. Maurice III p. 217, I.  
1 specimen.

157. Same.

*Rev.* VN MR Veiled figure. In ex. SMANH

14 mm. Maurice III p. 217, II.

2 specimens.

158. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMANÇ

14 mm. Maurice III p. 217, II.

2 specimens.

*Alexandria*

Posthumous

159. Same.

*Rev.* Quadriga r. In ex. SMALΔ

16 mm. Maurice III p. 282, III.

1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*

317–320

160. IMP CONSTANTINVS PF AVG Bust r.,  
laur.

*Rev.* SOLI INVICTO COMITI Sol standing l.,  
holding globe and raising r.

19 mm. Cf. 130 ff. above.

2 specimens.

324–326

161. CONSTANTINVS AVG Head r., laur.

*Rev.* PROVIDENTIAE AVGG Gate of camp.

18 mm. Cf. 144 and 148 f. above.

1 specimen.

## 335-337

162. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with one standard.

18 mm. Cf. 142 f., 152 ff. above.  
1 specimen.

163. Same.

*Rev.* Same.

15 mm. Cf. 142 f., 152 ff. above.  
1 specimen.

## Posthumous

164. DV CONSTANTINVS PT AVGG Bust r., veiled.

*Rev.* Quadriga r.

14 mm. Cf. 155 f., 159 above.  
3 specimens.

165 Same.

*Rev.* VN MR Veiled figure.

15 mm. Cf. 157 f. above.  
5 specimens.

## Urbs Roma

*Cyzicus*

## 335-337

166. VRBS ROMA Bust helmeted to l.

*Rev.* Wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; above, two stars. In ex. SMKA

19 mm. Maurice III p. 137, I.  
1 specimen.

*Alexandria*

335-337

167. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMALA

16 mm. Maurice III p. 277, II.

2 specimens.

*Uncertain Mint*

335-337

168. Same.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with one standard.

15 mm. Cohen VII, p. 327, No. 1.

1 specimen.

## Constantinopolis

*Alexandria*

After 337

169. CONSTAN TINOPOLIS Bust helmeted to l.

*Rev.* Victory l., r. foot on prow, holding scepter and leaning on shield. In ex. SMALA

15 mm. Maurice III p. 282, V.

1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*

After 337

170. Same.

*Rev.* Same.

18 mm.

3 specimens.

## Helen, Mother of Constantine I

*Uncertain Mint*

335-337

171. FL IVL HELENÆ AVG Bust, r.

*Rev.* PAX PVBLICA Pax l. with olive branch  
and scepter.14 mm. Cohen VII, p. 95, No. 4.  
1 specimen.

## Crispus, 317-326

*Rome*

324-326

172. FL IVL CRISPVS NOB CAES Bust l., laur.

*Rev.* PROVIDENTIAE CAESS Gate of camp.  
In ex. R. S19 mm. Maurice I p. 238, II, 1  
1 specimen.*Aquileia*

317-320

173. CRISPVS NOB CAES Bust r. laur.

*Rev.* PRINCIPIA IVVENTVTIS Soldier l. with  
shield and spear. In ex. AQT19 mm. Maurice I p. 318, III.  
1 specimen.*Thessalonica*

324

174. FL IVL CRISPVS NOB CAES Bust l., laur.

*Rev.* VOT X in a wreath. Around CAESARVM  
NOSTRORVM In ex. TSΔVI19 mm. Maurice II p. 449, XI, 1.  
1 specimen.



*Heraclea*

317-320

175. DN FL IVL CRISPVS NOB CAES Bust l.  
with globe, scepter and thunderbolt.

*Rev.* PROVIDENTIAE CAESS Gate. In ex.  
SMHT

19 mm. Maurice II p. 584, II, 2.  
1 specimen.

*Nicomedia*

324-326

176. FL IVL CRISPVS NOB CAES Bust l., diad.  
in cuirass.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMNB  
18 mm. Maurice III p. 54, II, 2.  
1 specimen.

## Dalmatius, Caesar, 335-337

*Nicomedia*

177. FL DELMATIVS NOB[C Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with  
one standard. In ex. SMNΔ  
17 mm. Maurice III p. 75, IV, 6.  
1 specimen.

## Constantine II, Caesar, 317-337

*Thessalonica*

317-320

178. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB CAES Bust r.,  
laur.

*Rev.* CLARITAS REIPVBLICAE Sol l., holding  
globe and raising r. In ex. ·TS·B·  
16 mm. Maurice II p. 436, II, 1.  
1 specimen.

324-326

179. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C Bust l., laur.  
*Rev.* PROVIDENTIAE CAESS Gate. In ex.  
SMTS  
18 mm. Maurice II p. 461, II, 2.  
1 specimen.

333-335

180. Same inscription. Bust r., laur.  
*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with  
two standards. In ex. SMTSA  
17 mm. Maurice II p. 473, III, 2.  
1 specimen.

*Cyzicus*

333-335

181. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C Bust r., laur.  
*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with  
two standards. In ex. SMK  
17 mm. Maurice III p. 134, 5.  
1 specimen.

*Heraclea*

324-326

182. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C Bust r., laur.  
*Rev.* PROVIDENTIAE CAESS Gate. In ex.  
SMHT  
19 mm. Maurice II p. 597, V, 2.  
1 specimen.

*Antioch*

333-335

183. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMANϣ17 mm. Maurice III p. 210, I, 2.  
2 specimens.

335-337

184. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription. Two soldiers with one standard. In ex. SMANΘ15 mm. Maurice III p. 213, II, 2.  
1 specimen.*Alexandria*

185. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription. Two soldiers with two standards. In ex. SMALB18 mm. Maurice III p. 276, I, 2.  
2 specimens.

Constantine II, Augustus, 337-340

*Antioch*

186. CONSTANTINVS AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with one standard. In ex. SMANB16 mm. Cohen VII p. 378, No. 117.  
1 specimen.*Uncertain Mint*

187. VIC CONSTANTINVS Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* VIRTVS AVGVSTI Emperor front, looking r., leaning on reversed spear and shield.13 mm. Cohen VII p. 394, No. 233.  
1 specimen.

## Constans I, Caesar, 333-337

*Cyzicus*

333-335

188. FL IVL CONSTANS NOB C Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with  
two standards. In ex. - MK -  
16 mm. Maurice III p. 134, III, 11.  
1 specimen.

*Antioch*

333-335

189. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMANH  
19 mm. Maurice III p. 210, I, 4.  
1 specimen.

## Constans I, Augustus, 337-350

*Rome*

340-350

190. CONSTANS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* VICTORIAE DDAVGGQNN Two Victories  
confronted, each with wreath and palm. In ex.  
R to l. and P to r. of wreath.  
16 mm. Cohen VII p. 431, No. 176.  
2 specimens.

191. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. R to l. and S to r. of wreath.  
16 mm. Cohen VII p. 431, No. 176.  
1 specimen.

*Constantinople*

337-340

192. Same.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with  
one standard. In ex. CONSA  
13 mm. Cohen VII p. 413, No. 61.  
1 specimen.

193. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. CONSIA  
13 mm. Cohen VII p. 413, No. 61.  
1 specimen.

*Cyzicus*

337-340

194. DN CONSTANS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMK  
15 mm. Cohen VII p. 413, No. 61.  
1 specimen.

195. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMKE  
15 mm. Cohen VII p. 413, No. 61.  
1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*

337-340

196. Same.

*Rev.* Same.  
14 mm. Cohen VII p. 413, No. 61.  
1 specimen.

197. CONSTANS PF AVG Bust l., diad.

*Rev.* Same.  
15 mm. Cohen VII p. 414, No. 68.  
1 specimen.

## 340-350

198. Same inscription. Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* VICTORIAE DD AVGGQNN Two Victories confronted, each with wreath and palm.

13 mm. Cohen VII p. 431, No. 176.

2 specimens.

## 343-350

199. DN CONSTANS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX in a wreath.

15 mm. Cohen VII, p. 435, No. 197.

5 specimens.

## Constantius II, Caesar, 323-337

*Rome*

## 324-326

200. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C Bust l., laur.

*Rev.* PROVIDENTIAE CAESS Gate. In ex. R to l. and Q to r. of wreath.

20 mm. Maurice I, p. 238, II, 3.

1 specimen.

## 330-333

201. Same inscription. Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with two standards. In ex. RBT

18 mm. Maurice I p. 252, IV, 3.

1 specimen.

*Cyzicus*

## 333-335

202. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMKT

18 mm. Maurice III p. 134, III, 8.

1 specimen.

*Antioch*

324–326

203. Same inscription. Bust l., laur.

*Rev.* PROVIDENTIAE CAESS Gate. In ex. SMANT20 mm. Maurice III 202, II, 3.  
1 specimen.

335–337

204. Same inscription. Bust r., laur.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with  
one standard. In ex. SMANB17 mm. Maurice III p. 213, II, 3.  
1 specimen.

205. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMANΔ  
17 mm. Maurice III p. 213, II, 3.  
2 specimens.*Uncertain Mint*

333–335

206. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription. Two soldiers with two  
standards.18 mm. Cf. 201 f.  
2 specimens.

Constantius II, Augustus, 337–361

*Rome*

345–361

207. DNCONSTANTIVS PFAVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* FEL TEMP REPARATIO Soldier l., spear-  
ing fallen horseman. In ex. MQ

16 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.  
1 specimen.

208. Same.

*Rev.* In ex. RQ

18 mm. Cohen VII, p. 447, No. 45.  
3 specimens.

*Aquileia*

345-361

209. Same.

*Rev.* SPES REIPVBLICAE Emperor l. with globe,  
leaning on spear. In ex. AQ

16 mm. Cohen VII, p. 468, No. 188.  
1 specimen.

*Thessalonica*

337-340

210. CONSTANTIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with  
one standard. In ex. SMTç

18 mm. Cohen VII p. 455, No. 99.  
1 specimen.

340-350

211. Same.

*Rev.* VICTORIAE DD AVGG QNN Two Vic-  
tories confronted, each with wreath and palm. In  
ex. SMTç

15 mm. Cohen VII p. 484, No. 293.  
1 specimen.

345-361

212. DNCONSTANTIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* FEL TEMP REPARATIO Soldier l. spearing  
fallen horseman. In ex. SMTç



16 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.  
1 specimen.

213. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In field A

18 mm. Cohen VII, p. 447, No. 45.  
1 specimen.

214. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In field H In ex. SMTSA

16 mm. Cohen VII, p. 447, No. 45.  
1 specimen.

*Constantinople*

337-340

215. CONSTANTIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with  
one standard. In ex. CONSI

16 mm. Cohen VII p. 455, No. 99.  
2 specimens.

216. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. CONSA

16 mm. Cohen VII p. 455, No. 99.  
1 specimen.

345-361

217. DN CONSTANTIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* FEL TEMP REPARATIO Soldier l. spear-  
ing fallen horseman. In ex. CONSE

17 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.  
3 specimens.

*Cyzicus*

337-343

218. Same.

*Rev.* VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX in a wreath. In  
ex. SMK

14 mm. Cohen VII p. 492, No. 335.  
1 specimen.

219. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMKζ

14 mm. Cohen VII p. 492, No. 335.  
1 specimen.

345–361

220. Same.

*Rev.* FEL TEMP REPARATIO Emperor l. with  
labarum. Before him two captives. In ex. SMKB

20 mm. Cohen VII p. 446, No. 40.  
1 specimen.

221. Same inscription. Bust l., diad. with globe.

*Rev.* Same inscription. Legionary r., leading cap-  
tive from hut behind which, tree; in field, star; in  
ex. SMKζ

20 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 53.  
2 specimens.

222. Same inscription. Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* Same inscription. Soldier l. spearing fallen  
horseman. In ex. SMKΓ

17 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.  
3 specimens.

223. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMKΔ

17 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.  
1 specimen.

224. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMKΕ

17 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.  
1 specimen.

*Antioch*

337-340

225. CONSTANTIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with  
one standard. In ex. SMANTB  
16 mm. Cohen VII p. 455, No. 99.  
2 specimens.

226. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMANTI  
16 mm. Cohen VII p. 455, No. 99.  
1 specimen.

337-343

227. DN CONSTANTIVS P F AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX in a wreath. In  
ex. SMANA  
14 mm. Cohen VII p. 492, No. 335.  
1 specimen.

228. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMANB  
14 mm. Cohen VII p. 492, No. 335.  
4 specimens.

229. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMANT  
14 mm. Cohen VII p. 492, No. 335.  
2 specimens.

230. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMANE  
14 mm. Cohen VII, p. 492, No. 335.  
1 specimen.

231. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMANϣ

14 mm. Cohen VII p. 492, No. 335.

1 specimen.

345-361

232. Same.

*Rev.* FEL TEMP REPARATIO Soldier l. spear-  
ing fallen horseman. In field M (or A). In ex. ANH

16 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.

3 specimens.

233. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. ANϣ

16 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.

1 specimen.

234. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. AMAI (sic.)

16 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.

1 specimen.

235. Same.

*Rev.* SPES REIPVBLICE Emperor l., holding  
globe and leaning on spear. In ex. ANH

14 mm. Cohen VII, p. 468, No. 188.

2 specimens.

*Alexandria*

337-340

236. CONSTANTIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with  
one standard. In ex. SMALB

16 mm. Cohen VII, p. 455, No. 99.

1 specimen.

237. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. SMALF

16 mm. Cohen VII p. 455, No. 99.  
1 specimen.

337-343

238. DN CONSTANTIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX in a wreath. In ex. SMALA

15 mm. Cohen VII p. 492, No. 335.  
2 specimens.

345-361

239. Same.

*Rev.* FEL TEMP REPARATIO Soldier l., spearing fallen horseman. In ex. ALEF

16 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.  
1 specimen.

240. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. ALEΔ

16 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.  
1 specimen.

241. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. ALE[

16 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.  
3 specimens.

242. Same.

*Rev.* SPES REIPVBLICE Emperor l., holding globe and leaning on spear. In ex. ALEB

13 mm. Cohen VII No. 188.  
1 specimen.

243. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. ALE[  
13 mm. Cohen VII No. 188.  
1 specimen.

244. Same.

*Rev.* VICT AVGG Victory l. with wreath and  
palm.  
15 mm. Cohen VII p. 470, No. 196.  
1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*

337-340

245. CONSTANTIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers with  
one standard.  
18 mm. Cohen VII p. 455, No. 99.  
1 specimen.

246. DNCONSTAN[TIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* Same.  
15 mm. Cohen VII p. 455, No. 102.  
1 specimen.

337-343

247. DN CONSTANTIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX in a wreath.  
13-16 mm. Cohen VII p. 492, No. 335.  
15 specimens.

340-350

248. CONSTANTIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* VICTORIAE DD AVGG QNN Two Vic-  
tories confronted, each with wreath and palm.

15 mm. Cohen VII p. 484, No. 293.  
4 specimens.

345–361

249. DN CONSTANTIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.  
*Rev.* FEL TEMP REPARATIO Soldier l., spear-  
ing fallen horseman.

22 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.  
1 specimen.

250. Same.

*Rev.* Same.

20 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.  
1 specimen.

251. Same.

*Rev.* Same.

13–18 mm. Cohen VII p. 447, No. 45.  
79 specimens.

252. Same.

*Rev.* SPES REIPVBLICE Emperor l., holding  
globe and leaning on spear.

15 mm. Cohen VII p. 468, No. 188.  
35 specimens.

Constantius Gallus, Caesar, 351–354

*Antioch*

253. DN FL CL CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES  
Bust r., bare.

*Rev.* FEL TEMP REPARATIO Soldier l., spear-  
ing fallen horseman. In ex. AN[

24 mm. Cohen VIII p. 32, No. 8.  
1 specimen.

254. DN CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES Bust r.,  
bare.

*Rev.* Same. In field  $\epsilon$  In ex. ANH  
20 mm. Cohen VIII p. 33, No. 17.  
1 specimen.

255. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. AN[  
16 mm. Cohen VIII p. 33, No. 17.  
2 specimens.

*Alexandria*

256. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. ALEA  
18 mm. Cohen VIII p. 33, No. 17.  
1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*

257. Same.

*Rev.* Same.  
23 mm. Cohen VIII p. 33, No. 17.  
2 specimens.

258. DN CONSTANTIVS NOB C Bust r., bare.

*Rev.* Same.  
20–24 mm. Cohen VIII p. 32, No. 7.  
6 specimens.

Julian II, Caesar, 355–361

*Uncertain Mint*

259. DN FLIVLIANVS NOB C Bust r., bare.

*Rev.* SPES REIPVBLICE Caesar l., holding globe  
and leaning on spear.  
15 mm. Cohen VIII p. 49, Nos. 46 f.  
4 specimens.



## Valentinian I, 364-375

*Lugdunum*

260. DNVALENTINIANVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.  
*Rev.* GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor with  
 labarum dragging captive r. In field, O FII  
 17 mm. Cohen VIII p. 88, No. 12; Pearce, *The Roman  
 Coinage from A.D. 364 to 423*, p. 54, A 3-5b.  
 1 specimen.

*Thessalonica*

261. Same.  
*Rev.* Same. In ex. T€SB  
 16 mm. Pearce, p. 39, I, 1.  
 1 specimen.
262. Same.  
*Rev.* SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory l.  
 with wreath and palm. In ex. T€S[  
 17 mm. Cohen VIII p. 92, No. 37; Pearce, p. 39, I, 1.  
 1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*

263. Same.  
*Rev.* GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor with  
 labarum, dragging captive r.  
 17 mm. Cf. 260 f.  
 2 specimens.
264. Same.  
*Rev.* SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory l.  
 with wreath and palm.  
 14-17 mm. Cf. 262.  
 10 specimens.

Valens, 364–378

*Rome*

265. DNVALENS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory l.  
with wreath and palm. In ex. R PRIMA  
19 mm. Cohen VIII p. 110, No. 47.  
1 specimen.

266. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In ex. SMRP  
14 mm. Cohen VIII p. 110, No. 47.  
1 specimen.

*Constantinople*

267. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In ex. CONSA  
16 mm. Cohen VIII p. 110, No. 47.  
3 specimens.

268. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In ex. CONST  
16 mm. Cohen VIII p. 110, No. 47.  
1 specimen.

*Cyzicus*

269. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In ex. SMKA  
17 mm. Cohen VIII p. 110, No. 47.  
1 specimen.

*Antioch*

270. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In ex. ANT  
17 mm. Cohen VIII p. 110, No. 47.  
3 specimens.

271. Same.

*Rev.* GLORIA ROMANORVM Valens r. with standard; r. hand on head of captive. In ex. ANT 15–17 mm. Cohen VIII p. 103, No. 11. 6 specimens.

*Alexandria*

272. Same.

*Rev.* SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory l. with wreath and palm. In ex. ALE 15 mm. Cohen VIII p. 110, No. 47. 2 specimens.

*Uncertain Mint*

273. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. Mint mark illegible. 12–19 mm. Cohen VIII p. 110, No. 47. 24 specimens.

274. Same.

*Rev.* GLORIA ROMANORVM Valens r. with standard; r. hand on head of captive. Mint mark illegible. 16 mm. Cohen VIII p. 103, No. 11. 7 specimens.

Gratian, 367–383

*Nicomedia*

275. DN GRATIANVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE Victory walking l. with crown and palm. In ex. ]N[ 17 mm. Cohen VIII p. 130, No. 34. 1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*

276. DNGRATIANVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* VOT/XV/MVLT/XX in a wreath.

14 mm. Cohen VIII p. 135, No. 75.

2 specimens.

## Valentinian II, 375–392

*Thessalonica*

277. DNVALENTINIANVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor r. with r. hand on head of captive. In ex. SMTS

18 mm. Cohen VIII p. 142, No. 23.

1 specimen.

*Antioch*

278. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In ex. ANT

16 mm. Cohen VIII p. 142, No. 23.

2 specimens.

279. Same.

*Rev.* SPES REIPVBLICAE Soldier l., dragging captive. In ex. ANT

15 mm. Cohen VIII p. 143, No. 34.

2 specimens.

280. Same.

*Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory l., dragging captive. In ex. ANB

13 mm. Cohen VIII p. 143, No. 30.

1 specimen.

281. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In ex. ANTA  
13 mm. Cohen VIII p. 143, No. 30.  
2 specimens.

282. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription. Victory l. with wreath and  
palm. In ex. ANT  
16 mm. Cohen VIII p. 143, No. 31.  
2 specimens.

*Alexandria*

283. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In ex. ALET  
17 mm. Cohen VIII p. 143, No. 31.  
2 specimens.

284. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In ex. ALET  
17 mm. Cohen VIII p. 143, No. 31.  
1 specimen.

284a. Same.

*Rev.* VOT/X/MVLT/XX in a wreath. In ex.  
ALE  
12 mm. Cohen VIII p. 143, No. 31.  
1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*

285. Same.

*Rev.* GLORIA ROMANORVM Emperor r., with  
r. hand on head of captive.  
13-16 mm. Cohen VIII p. 142, No. 23.  
31 specimens.

286. Same.

*Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory l., dragging captive.

12 mm. Cohen VIII p. 143, No. 30.

4 specimens.

287. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription. Victory l. with wreath and palm.

16 mm. Cohen VIII p. 143, No. 31.

47 specimens.

288. Same.

*Rev.* VIRTVS AVGGG Emperor l. on vessel with Victory and standard, placing foot on captive; Victory at helm.

15 mm. Cohen VIII p. 145, No. 55.

1 specimen.

289. Same.

*Rev.* VOT/X/MVLT/XX in a wreath.

12 mm. Cohen VIII p. 148, No. 73.

5 specimens.

### Theodosius I

378–395

### *Siscia*

290. DN THEODOSIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* GLORIA ROMANORVM Theodosius r. looking l., holding standard and dragging captive.

In ex. ASISC

19 mm. Cohen VIII p. 156, No. 23.

1 specimen.

*Thessalonica*

291. Same.

*Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory l. dragging  
captive. In ex. SMTES

12 mm. Cohen VIII p. 158, No. 30.

1 specimen.

*Constantinople*

292. Same.

*Rev.* VOT/X/MVLT/XX in a wreath. In ex.  
CON

13 mm. Cohen VIII p. 163, No. 68.

1 specimen.

*Antioch*

293. Same.

*Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory l. dragging  
captive. In ex. ANA

14 mm. Cohen VIII p. 158, No. 30.

1 specimen.

294. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In ex. ANΓ

14 mm. Cohen VIII p. 158, No. 30.

6 specimens.

295. Same.

*Rev.* VOT/X/MVLT/XX in a wreath. In ex.  
ANB

13 mm. Cohen VIII p. 163, No. 68.

4 specimens.

296. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In ex. ANΔ

13 mm. Cohen VIII p. 163, No. 68.  
1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*

297. Same.

*Rev.* CONCORDIA AVGG Rome enthroned looking r. with spear and shield.

18 mm. Cohen VIII p. 153, No. 5.  
1 specimen.

298. Same.

*Rev.* GLORIA ROMANORVM Theodosius walking l. on boat, looking r., raising r. hand; Victory seated at the rudder.

21 mm. Cohen VIII p. 156, No. 19.  
1 specimen.

299. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription. Theodosius riding r., raising r. hand.

16 mm. Cohen VIII p. 156, No. 21.  
1 specimen.

300. Same.

*Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory l. dragging captive.

12-14 mm. Cohen VIII p. 158, No. 30.  
20 specimens.

301. Same.

*Rev.* [VICTORIA AVGGG] Victory l. with wreath and palm.

12 mm. Cohen VIII p. 159, No. 41.  
1 specimen.



302. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription. Two Victories facing each other, each holding wreath and palm.

12 mm. Cohen VIII p. 159, No. 43.

1 specimen.

303. Same.

*Rev.* VOT/X/MVLT/XX in a wreath.

13 mm. Cohen VIII p. 163, No. 68.

10 specimens.

Flacilla, wife of Theodosius I

*Antioch*

304. AEL FLACILLA AVG Bust r.

*Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory seated r., holding shield on which six-pointed star. In ex. AN[

12 mm. Cohen VIII p. 165, No. 8.

2 specimens.

Arcadius, 395–408

*Aquileia*

305. DNARCADIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory l. dragging captive. In ex. AQP

13 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 40, Nos. 105 ff.

1 specimen.

*Thessalonica*

306. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In ex. TEST

13 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 40, Nos. 105 ff.

1 specimen.

*Cyzicus*

307. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In ex. SMKA  
13 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 41, No. 107. Tolstoi reads  
SNKI and attributes to Nicomedia (NK) but this is cer-  
tainly an error for SMKI  
5 specimens.

308. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type. In ex. SMKI  
13 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 41, No. 107.  
1 specimen.

*Heraclea*

309. Same.

*Rev.* Same inscription and type (but no cross in  
field). In ex. SMHA  
12 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 40, Nos. 105 ff.  
1 specimen.

310. Same.

*Rev.* CONCORDIA AVGGG (sic) Cross. In ex.  
SMHA  
12 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 34, No. 76, where the inscription  
is CONCORDIA AVG  
1 specimen.

*Constantinople*

311. Same inscription. Bust helmeted facing, with  
spear and shield.

*Rev.* CONCORDIA AVG Rome seated r., hold-  
ing globe surmounted by Victory; foot on prow. In  
ex. CONSA  
18 mm. Tolstoi I p. 33, No. 73.  
1 specimen.

312. Same inscription. Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* Same inscription. Cross. In ex. CONS  
12 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 34, Nos. 76 f.  
1 specimen.

313. Same.

*Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory l. dragging  
captive. In ex. CONST  
14 mm. Tolstoi I p. 40, No. 105.  
5 specimens.

#### *Nicomedia*

314. Same inscription. Bust helmeted facing, with  
spear and shield.

*Rev.* CONCORDIA AVG Rome seated r. holding  
globe surmounted by Victory; foot on prow. In ex.  
SMNE  
18 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 33, Nos. 73 f.  
1 specimen.

#### *Antioch*

315. Same inscription. Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* Same inscription. Cross. In ex. ANT  
11 mm. Tolstoi I p. 34, No. 76.  
1 specimen.

316. Same.

*Rev.* GLORIA ROMANORVM Three emperors  
standing with spear and shield. In ex. ANTA  
13 mm. Tolstoi I p. 38, No. 99.  
2 specimens.

317. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. ANTB  
13 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 38, No. 99.  
1 specimen.

318. Same.

*Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory l. dragging  
captive. In ex. ANTA

13 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I pp. 40 f., Nos. 105 ff.  
1 specimen.

319. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. ANTF

13 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I pp. 40 f., Nos. 105 ff.  
1 specimen.

320. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. ANTϣ

13 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I pp. 40 f., Nos. 105 ff.  
2 specimens.

321. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. ANT

13 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I pp. 40 f., Nos. 105 ff.  
2 specimens.

322. Same.

*Rev.* VOT/X/MVLT/XX in a wreath. In ex.  
ANΔ

13 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 45, No. 134.  
2 specimens.

323. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. ANϣ

13 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I, p. 45, No. 134.  
2 specimens.

324. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. ANH

13 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I, p. 45, No. 134.  
1 specimen.

*Alexandria*

325. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. AΛEΓ

12 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 45, No. 132.

1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*

326. Same.

*Rev.* [CONCORDIA AVG] Cross.

10-12 mm. Tolstoi I p. 34, No. 77.

6 specimens.

327. Same.

*Rev.* [GLORIA REIPVBLICAE] Gate.

12 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 39, No. 103.

1 specimen.

328. Same.

*Rev.* GLORIA ROMANORUM Three emperors standing with spear and shield.

13 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 38, Nos. 98 f.

10 specimens.

329. Same.

*Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory l. dragging captive.

13 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I, pp. 40 f., Nos. 105 ff.

45 specimens.

330. Same.

*Rev.* VIRTVS] EXERCITI Emperor crowned by Victory.

17 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 43, Nos. 119 ff.

1 specimen.

331. Same.

*Rev.* VIC[TORIA AVGGG] Victory l. with wreath and globe.

12 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 44, Nos. 124–127.  
2 specimens.

332. Same.

*Rev.* VOT/V in a wreath.

14 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I pp. 44 f., Nos. 128 ff.  
1 specimen.

333. Same.

*Rev.* VOT/X/MVLT/XX in a wreath.

12 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 45, Nos. 132 ff.  
6 specimens.

Honorius, 395–423

. *Cyzicus*

334. DNHONORIVS PF AVG Bust helmeted facing, with spear and shield.

*Rev.* CONCORDIA] AVGG Rome seated r., holding globe surmounted by Victory; foot on prow.

In ex. SMK

17 mm. Cohen VIII p. 178, No. 4.  
1 specimen.

335. Same inscription. Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* VIRTUS EXERCITI Emperor r., leaning on spear; Victory l., crowning him. In ex. SMKA

16 mm. Cohen VIII p. 186, No. 56.  
2 specimens.

*Antioch*

336. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. ANT

16-18 mm. Cohen VIII p. 186, No. 56.  
3 specimens.

*Uncertain Mint*

337. Same.

*Rev.* GLORIA ROMANORVM Honorius and Arcadius standing looking at each other; each leaning on spear, holding globe between them.

15 mm. Cf. Cohen VIII p. 181, No. 27.  
3 specimens.

338. Same.

*Rev.* GLORIA ROMANORVM Three emperors standing facing with spears, the outer two leaning on shields.

16 mm. Cohen VIII p. 182, No. 28.  
4 specimens.

339. Same.

*Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE Victory l. dragging captive.

12 mm. Cohen VIII p. 182, No. 32.  
3 specimens.

340. Same.

*Rev.* VICTORIA AVGGG Victory l. with wreath and palm.

11 mm. Cohen VIII p. 184, No. 39.  
1 specimen.

341. Same.

*Rev.* VIRTVS EXERCITI Emperor r., leaning on spear; Victory l. crowning him.

16 mm. Cohen VIII p. 186, No. 56.  
13 specimens.

342. - - HONOR - - Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* Obliterated.

12 mm.

1 specimen.

Theodosius II, 408–450

*Constantinople*

343. DN THEODOSIVS PF AVG Bust facing, diad.

*Rev.* CONCORDIA AVGG Rome seated, looking

r. In ex. CON

15 mm. Tolstoi I p. 79, No. 77.

1 specimen.

*Cyzicus*

344. Same inscription. Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* Cross in wreath. In ex. SMKB

14 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 80, No. 82.

1 specimen.

*Antioch*

345. Same.

*Rev.* Same. In ex. AN

11 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 80, No. 82.

1 specimen.

346. DN THEODJ O SIVS PFAVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX in a wreath. In ex.

ANT

15 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I, p. 78, No. 72. The catalogues give this type for silver only, but there is no sign of plating here.

1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*

347. DN THEODOSIVS PF AVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* Cross in wreath.



13 mm. Tolstoi I p. 80, No. 82.  
19 specimens.

348. Inscription illegible. Bust r., diad.  
*Rev.* [VT]/XXX/V in a wreath.

12 mm. Tolstoi I p. 80, No. 81.  
1 specimen.

349. - - ODO - - Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* [GLORIA ROMANORVM] Three emperors  
standing.

15 mm. Sabatier I p. 118, No. 29. Ratto Sale 1930,  
p. 10, Nos. 195 f.  
3 specimens.

#### Marcian, 450–457

##### *Uncertain Mint*

350. DNMARCIANVSPFAVG Bust r., diad.  
*Rev.* ☼ in a wreath.

10 mm. Cf. Tolstoi I p. 102, Nos. 26–28.  
3 specimens.

#### Leo I, 457–474

##### *Constantinople*

351. DNLEOPPAVG Bust r., diad.  
*Rev.* Lion l., looking r. In ex. CON

11 mm. Tolstoi I p. 128, No. 38.  
2 specimens.

352. DNLEO Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* Leo standing facing with labarum; at his feet  
r., kneeling captive.

12 mm. Tolstoi I p. 127, No. 31.  
1 specimen.

353. Same.

*Rev.* bE Figure standing, facing.

10 mm. Tolstoi I p. 127, No. 32.

1 specimen.

354. Same.

*Rev.* NE

9 mm. Tolstoi I p. 128, No. 35.

2 specimen.

Zeno, 474-491

*Uncertain Mint*

355. [DNZENO] Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* Monogram of Zeno.

9 mm. Sabatier I p. 141, No. 19.

1 specimen.

### Vandalic Coins

*Huneric?* 477-484

356\*. Bust l., before face, a palm.

*Rev.* IIII/N

10 mm. *B. M. Vand.* p. 7, Nos. 12-14, n. 1; Pl. I, 17, 18.

1 specimen.

### Barbarous Imitations

357\*. - - TI AN - - Head r., laur.

*Rev.* Female bust l. with turreted crown (?).

11 mm.

1 specimen.

358\*. Blundered inscription. Bust r.

*Rev.* Two figures standing.

(Struck over a coin of Theodosius I. On the rev. can be seen his bust r. DN....S[IV]S AVG)

13 mm.

1 specimen.

359\*. Bust r.

*Rev.* Crude Victory? l.

11 mm.

1 specimen.

360. Blundered inscription. Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* Obscure lines in a wreath.

10 mm.

1 specimen.

361\*. Border of dots imitating inscription. Head r.

*Rev.* Imitation of inscription. Border of dots.

9 mm.

1 specimen.

362\*. SVII\ Head r., laur.

*Rev.* Probable equivalent of DNI Cross. In ex.

AN

10 mm.

1 specimen.

363. Head r. with dots representing inscription.

*Rev.* Cross potent.

9 mm.

1 specimen.

364\*. -DIVS P F AV Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* - - IA AVG Cross potent. In ex. ΑΛΕΞ  
(very dim).

11 mm.

1 specimen.

(Size and style distinguish this from genuine coins of  
Arcadius)

365. Head r.

*Rev.* Eight-pointed star.

9 mm.

1 specimen.

366. Head r.

*Rev.* Six-pointed star.

8 mm.

1 specimen.

367. Head r.

*Rev.* Perhaps XX/II in a circle of dots representing a wreath.

8 mm.

1 specimen.

368. Head r.

*Rev.* Cross in wreath.

11 mm.

1 specimen.

369\*. Half length figure of emperor, facing.

*Rev.* I+B/ΘΔΙ

11 mm.

1 specimen.

This is obviously an imitation of the Byzantine pieces struck in Alexandria (cf. No. 471 below) but it is impossible to say when or by whom issued. The fabric does not appear to be Arabic.

### Byzantine Coins

Anastasius I, 491–518

*Constantinople*

Large fabric

370. DNANASTASIVSPPAVG Bust r., diademed.

*Rev.* M; to l. and r., stars; above, cross; in ex., CON  
Beneath, A

33 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 4, No. 18.

3 specimens.

371. Same.

*Rev.* Beneath, Δ

35 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 4, Nos. 25-27.

1 specimen.

372. Same.

*Rev.* Beneath, €

35 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 4, No. 29.

3 specimens.

373. Same.

*Rev.* Beneath, €; pellets above and beneath each star.

35 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 4, No. 29.

2 specimens.

Small fabric

374. Same.

*Rev.* Beneath A (indistinct).

26 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 5, No. 36.

1 specimen.

375. Same.

*Rev.* Letter beneath illegible.

18 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 5, Nos. 36-38.

1 specimen.

376. Same inscription and type.

*Rev.* M; above, cross; in ex., CON

24 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 6, No. 41.

6 specimens.

377. Same inscription and type. Obscure.

*Rev.* K; on l., long cross (without stars); to r., Δ; cross obliterated.

17 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 6, Nos. 46 f.

2 specimens.

*Uncertain Mint*<sup>1</sup>

## Large fabric

378. Same inscription and type.

*Rev.* M; to l. and r., stars; above, cross. Numeral and ex. obliterated.

35 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 4, Nos. 17 ff.  
1 specimen.

## Small fabric

379. Same inscription and type.

*Rev.* M; above, cross. Both sides, numeral and ex. obliterated.

26 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 6, No. 41.  
1 specimen.

*Uncertain Emperor*<sup>2</sup>*Constantinople*

380. Obliterated.

*Rev.* M; above, cross; in ex. CO[N  
25 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* pp. 5 f., Nos. 36–41.  
1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*<sup>3</sup>

381. Bust r., very obscure.

*Rev.* K; to l., long cross.  
18 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 6, Nos. 42–49.  
7 specimens.

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<sup>1</sup> Although the mint mark is gone, Nos. 378 and 379 may probably be attributed to Constantinople, No. 379 almost surely.

<sup>2</sup> This may be Anastasius or Justin I, with the probability strongly in favor of the former, since the bronze of the latter of small fabric is much rarer.

<sup>3</sup> Almost certainly Constantinople.

Justin I, 518–527

*Constantinople*

382. DNIVSTINVSPPAVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* M; to l. and r., stars; above, cross; in ex., CON  
Beneath, A

32–33 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 14, No. 20.  
6 specimens.

383. Same.

*Rev.* Beneath, B  
31 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 14, No. 21.  
1 specimen.

384. Same.

*Rev.* Beneath, €  
30 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 14, Nos. 27 f.  
1 specimen.

385. Same.

*Rev.* Numeral illegible.  
30–33 mm.  
8 specimens.

386. Same.

*Rev.* M; to l., star; to r., cross; above, cross; in ex.  
CON Beneath, A  
29–32 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 14, No. 29.  
5 specimens.

387. Same.

*Rev.* Beneath, Γ  
32 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 14, No. 31.  
3 specimens.

388. [D]NIVSTINVSPPAVG (the first six letters uncertain). Bust r., diad. (The position of obv. inscription shows that it is Justin, not Justinian.)

*Rev.* M; to l., crescent; to r., cross; beneath, €; in ex. CON.<sup>1</sup>

32 mm.

1 specimen.

389. DNIVSTINVSPPAVG Bust. r., diad.

*Rev.* K; to l. long cross. To r., B

25 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 15, No. 33.

1 specimen.

390. Same.

*Rev.* To r., Δ

27 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 15, Nos. 33 f.

1 specimen.

391. Same.

*Rev.* To r., €

30 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 15, No. 35.

1 specimen.

392. Obliterated.

*Rev.* ✱ to l. A; to r. €

11 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 16, No. 40.

1 specimen.

393. Inscription illegible. Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* ✱ to l., N; to r., €

13 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 16, No. 47.

1 specimen.

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<sup>1</sup> This variety with the crescent is not in *B. M. Byz.*, Tolstoi or Sabatier. (Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 14, note 1). There are *folles* of Anastasius with crescent and star (*B. M. Byz.* p. 4, No. 17, and p. 5, note 2), but none with crescent and cross. The present specimen is certainly not a barbarous imitation.



*Nicomedia*

394. DNIVSTINVSPFAVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* M to l, star; to r., star; above, cross; in **ex.**  
NIKM; beneath, A

35 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 17, No. 51.

1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*

395. Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* M to l. and r., crosses; above, cross.

33 mm. Sabatier I p. 162, No. 18.

1 specimen.

Justinian I, 527–565

*Constantinople*

527–538

396. DNIVSTINIANVSPPAVG Bust r., diad.

*Rev.* M; to l., star; to r., cross; above, cross; in **ex.**  
CON Beneath, A

31–33 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 29, No. 28.

4 specimens.

397. Same.

*Rev.* Beneath, B

33 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 29, No. 29.

1 specimen.

398. Same.

*Rev.* Beneath, Γ

32 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 29, Nos. 30 f.

2 specimens.

399. Same.

*Rev.* Details obscure.

32 mm.

5 specimens.

400. Same.

*Rev.* M; to l. and r., stars; above, cross; in ex., CON  
Beneath, A

28 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 30, No. 32.

1 specimen.

401. Same.

*Rev.* Beneath, €

31 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 30, No. 37.

1 specimen.

402. Same.

*Rev.* M; to l. and r., crosses; above, cross; in ex.,  
CON Beneath, Γ

30 mm. *Cf. B. M. Byz.* p. 30, No. 38.

1 specimen.

403. Same.

*Rev.* Beneath, €

32-33 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 30, No. 38.

6 specimens.

404. Same inscription and type. Inscription illegible.

*Rev.* K; to l., long cross; above and below, stars;  
to r., €

26 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 35, No. 104.

2 specimens.

561/2

405. Same inscription and type.

*Rev.* I; to l., ANNO; above, cross; in ex. CON;  
to r., X/XX/Υ

17 mm. *Cf. B. M. Byz.* p. 39, No. 138.

1 specimen.

406. Inscription illegible.

*Rev.* Date illegible.

17 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 38.

1 specimen.

*Thessalonica*

562/3 or 563/4

407. Inscription illegible. Bust facing.

*Rev.* K; to l., ANNO; above, cross; in *ex.* TES;  
to r., XXX/ϷI or XXX/ϷII

27 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 41, No. 160.

1 specimen.

*Antioch*

529-539

408. Inscription and type as on No. 396.

*Rev.* M; to l. and r., stars; above, cross; in *ex.*  
+ THETOP +; beneath, Γ

30 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 54, Nos. 273 f.

2 specimens.

409. Same inscription and type.

*Rev.* K; to r., Γ; to l., THETPO and long cross.

23 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 58, No. 314.

1 specimen.

*Alexandria*

538/9 and later

410. Same inscription and type.

*Rev.* I<sup>+</sup>B in *ex.* ΑΔΕΞ

15 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 62, Nos. 342 f.

3 specimens.

Justin II, 565–578<sup>1</sup>*Constantinople*

566/67

411. DNIVSTINVSPPAVG Justin and Sophia  
seated facing.

*Rev.* M; to l., ANNO; above, cross; in ex. CON To  
r., II; beneath, A

27 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 79, No. 32.  
1 specimen.

569/70

412. Same.

*Rev.* To r., ☩; beneath, B

30 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 79, No. 41.  
1 specimen.

413. Same.

*Rev.* To r., ☩; beneath, Γ

32 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 79, No. 42.  
1 specimen.

414. Same.

*Rev.* To r., ☩; beneath, Δ

26 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 79, No. 44.  
1 specimen.

570/1

415. Same.

*Rev.* To r., ☩; beneath, A

29 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 80, No. 47.  
1 specimen.

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<sup>1</sup> For imitations of Justin II see below, pp. 119 ff.

416. Same.

*Rev.* To r.,  $\zeta$ ; beneath,  $\Gamma$

33 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 80, No. 52.

2 specimens.

571/2

417. Same.

*Rev.* (Above,  $\star$ ) to r.,  $\zeta$ I; beneath,  $\Delta$

31 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 80, No. 55.

1 specimen.

418. Same.

*Rev.* (Above,  $\star$ ) to r.,  $\zeta$ I, beneath,  $B$

30 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 80, No. 56.

1 specimen.

419. Same.

*Rev.* To r.,  $\zeta$ I, beneath,  $\epsilon$

29 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 80, No. 59.

2 specimens.

572/3

420. Same.

*Rev.* To r.,  $\zeta$ /II, beneath,  $\Delta$

30 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 81, No. 61.

1 specimen.

421. Same.

*Rev.* To r.,  $\zeta$ /II; beneath,  $\Delta$

28 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 80, No. 58.

1 specimen.

422. Same.

*Rev.* To r.,  $\zeta$ /II; beneath,  $\epsilon$

32 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 81, No. 62.

1 specimen.

## 573/4

423. Same.

*Rev.* To r.,  $\zeta$ I/II; beneath, A  
29 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 81, No. 63.  
1 specimen.

424. Same.

*Rev.* To r.,  $\zeta$ I/II; beneath, B  
35 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 81, No. 64.  
1 specimen.

425. Same.

*Rev.* To r.,  $\zeta$ I/II; beneath,  $\Delta$   
30 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 81, No. 68.  
1 specimen.

## 574/5

426. Same.

*Rev.* To r., X; beneath, B  
30 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 81, Nos. 72 f  
1 specimen.

427. Same.

*Rev.* To r., X; beneath,  $\Gamma$   
30 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 81, Nos. 73 f.  
1 specimen.

428. Same.

*Rev.* To r., X; beneath,  $\Delta$   
31 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 81, No. 74.  
1 specimen.

## 575/6

429. Same.

*Rev.* To r., X/I; beneath, B  
31 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 82, No. 78.  
1 specimen.

576/7

430. Same.

*Rev.* To r., X/Π; beneath, Γ30 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 82, Nos. 80 f.

1 specimen.

Uncertain date

431. Same.

*Rev.* Date illegible; beneath, €

30 mm.

2 specimens.

574/5

432. Same inscription and type.

*Rev.* K; to l., ANNO; above, cross; to r., X;  
beneath, €24 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 83, No. 96.

1 specimen.

*Thessalonica*

566/7

433. DNIVSTINVSPPAV Bust r., facing in helmet and armor. Obliterated.

*Rev.* K; to l., ANNO; above, cross; below TES To  
r., II20 mm. *B. M. C.* p. 84, No. 101.

1 specimen.

569/70

434. DNIVSTINVSPPAV Justin and Sophia seated facing.

*Rev.* To r., 420 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 85, No. 111.

1 specimen.

570/1

435. Same.

*Rev.* To r.,  $\Psi$ I

20 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 85, Nos. 111, f.  
2 specimens.

572/3

436. Same. Very obscure.

*Rev.* To r.,  $\Psi$ I/II

22 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 85, No. 113.  
1 specimen.

575/6

437. Same. Obscure.

*Rev.* (Above  $\Theta$ C and cross) to r., XI

22 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 85, No. 121.  
2 specimens.

576/7

438. Same.

*Rev.* (Above  $\Theta$ C and cross) to r., XII

21 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 85, Nos. 121 f.  
1 specimen.

439. Same. Obscure.

*Rev.* (Above  $\Phi$ C and cross) to r., XII

23 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 85, No. 122.  
1 specimen.

Uncertain date

440. Same. Obscure.

*Rev.* Date illegible.

22 mm.  
1 specimen.



*Nicomedia*

567/8

441. DNIVSTINVSPPAVG Justin and Sophia seated facing.

*Rev.* M; to l., ANNO; above, cross; in ex. NIKO  
To r., II/I; beneath, A  
30–32 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 86, No. 128.  
2 specimens.

568/9

442. Same. Obscure.

*Rev.* To r., II/II; beneath, B  
31 mm. *B. M. Byz.* pp. 86, f., Nos. 131 f.  
2 specimens.

569/70

443. Same.

*Rev.* To r.,  $\Psi$ ; beneath, A  
30 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 87, No. 133.  
3 specimens.

444. Same.

*Rev.* To r.,  $\Psi$ ; beneath, B  
30 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 87, No. 133.  
1 specimen.

571/2

445. Same.

*Rev.* To r.,  $\Psi$ I; beneath, A  
32 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 87, No. 137.  
1 specimen.

573/4

446. Same.

*Rev.* To r.,  $\Psi$ I/II; beneath, B

31 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 87, No. 147.  
1 specimen.

574/5

447. Same.

*Rev.* To r., X; beneath, A  
30 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 88, No. 149.  
1 specimen.

448. Same.

*Rev.* To r., X; beneath, B  
30 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 88, No. 150.  
2 specimens.

575/6

449. Same.

*Rev.* To r., X/I; beneath, B  
31 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 88, No. 153.  
1 specimen.

576/7

450. Same. Very badly corroded.

*Rev.* To r., \*/X/II; beneath, A<sup>1</sup>  
28 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 88, No. 155.  
1 specimen.

451. Same.

*Rev.* To r., X/II; beneath, B  
30 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 88, No. 156.  
1 specimen.

577/8

452. Same.

*Rev.* To r., X/II/I; beneath, A  
31 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 88, No. 158.  
2 specimens.

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<sup>1</sup> The star above the date is not published in *B. M. Byz.*

Date illegible

453. Same.

*Rev.* Beneath, €

28 mm.

1 specimen.

569/70

454. Same.

*Rev.* K; to l., ANNO; above, cross; in ex., NI To  
r., 422 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 89, No. 161.

1 specimen.

571/2

455. Same.

*Rev.* To r., 4I27 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 89, No. 162.

1 specimen.

574/5

456. Same.

*Rev.* To r., X23 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 89, No. 166.

1 specimen.

576/7

457. Same.

*Rev.* To r., X/II22 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 89, No. 166.

1 specimen.

*Cyzicus*

572/3

458. Same.

*Rev.* M; to l., ANNO; above, cross; in ex., KYZ  
To r., 4II; beneath, B<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup> *B. M. Byz.* has 4/II

30 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 89, No. 164.  
1 specimen.

574/5

459. Same.

*Rev.* To r., X; beneath, A

30 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 90, No. 177.  
1 specimen.

571/2

460. Same.

*Rev.* K; to l., ANNO; above, cross; in ex., KYZ

To r.,  $\frac{4}{I}$

26 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 91, No. 187.  
1 specimen.

574/5

461. Same. Inscription illegible.

*Rev.* To r., X

24 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 91, Nos. 188, f.  
1 specimen.

*Antioch*

572/3

462. Same.  $\text{VNTTI}---$

*Rev.* M; to l., ANNO; above, cross; in ex.,  $\text{TH}\epsilon\chi\text{PO}'$

To r.,  $\frac{4}{II}$ ; beneath,  $\Gamma$

31 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 93, Nos. 202, f.  
1 specimen.

463. Same.  $\text{VNTCA CTNC}$

*Rev.* Same.

31 mm.  
1 specimen.

573/4

464. Same. Δ T T L D N U C I

*Rev.* To r., 4/III; beneath, Γ  
 30 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 93, No. 205.  
 1 specimen.

576/7

465. Same. - - N A 4 T S

*Rev.* To r., X/II; beneath, Γ  
 30 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 93, Nos. 21 f.  
 2 specimens.

Date illegible

466. Same.

*Rev.* Beneath, Γ  
 32 mm.  
 2 specimens.

566/7

467. D N I V S T I N V S P P A V G Bust facing. Inscription illegible.

*Rev.* K; to l., ANNO; above, cross; beneath Ɔ;  
 cross obliterated; to r., II  
 26 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 94, No. 213.  
 1 specimen.

569/70

468. Justin and Sophia seated facing.

*Rev.* Same type. To r., II/III.  
 25 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 94, No. 214.  
 1 specimen.

575/6

469. Same.

*Rev.* To r., XI

24 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 95, Nos. 222 f.  
1 specimen.

Uncertain date

470. Same.

*Rev.* Date illegible.

24 mm.  
3 specimens.

*Alexandria*

471. DNIVSTINVSPPAV Bust r. Inscription obscure or illegible.

*Rev.* I+B; in ex., ΑΛΕΞ

15 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 97, Nos. 241 ff.  
5 specimens.

*Uncertain Mint*

472. Inscription obliterated. Justin and Sophia seated facing.

*Rev.* Obliterated.

28 mm.  
1 specimen.

473. Same.

*Rev.* Obliterated. From fabric, probably K

22 mm.  
3 specimens.

Tiberius II, 578–582

*Constantinople*

474. DMTIbCONSTANTPPAVI Bust, facing.

*Rev.* XXX; above, cross; in ex. CON[ Officina mark illegible.

32 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 110, Nos. 38 ff.  
1 specimen.

*Antioch*

475. Inscription illegible. Bust facing, as consul.

*Rev.* ☉; to l., ANNO; above, cross; beneath, THEΥPS; to r., II/Υ

29 mm. *B. M. Byz.* p. 117, Nos. 99 f.  
1 specimen.

578/9 or 579/80

476. Bust facing, as Consul. Obscure.

*Rev.* K; to l., ANNO; above, cross; beneath ☉;  
to r., II

22-24 mm. *Sab. No.* 26. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 118, No. 108.  
2 specimens.

Maurice, 582-602

*Constantinople*

589/90

590/1

477. DNMAVRTIbEPPIAVC Bust, facing.

*Rev.* M; to l., ANNO; above, cross; in ex., CON  
To r., 4I/II; beneath, Γ

31 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 132, No. 51.  
1 specimen.

478. Same.

*Rev.* To r., 4I/II; beneath, Δ  
30 mm. Cf. *B. M. Byz.* p. 132, No. 51.  
1 specimen.

479. Same.

*Rev.* Date illegible.  
30 mm.  
1 specimen.

601/2

480. DNMAVRITIBERPPAV Bust, facing.

*Rev.* K; to l., ANNO; above, cross; to r., XX25 mm. *B. M. C.* p. 137, Note 2.

1 specimen.

*Nicomedia*

591/2

481. Same inscription and type. Inscription illegible.

*Rev.* M; to l., ANNO; above, cross; in ex. NIKO;  
to r., X; beneath, A28 mm. Cf. *B. M. C.* p. 140, No. 137.

1 specimen.

*Antioch*

592/3

482. Similar inscription.<sup>1</sup> Bust in consular robes,  
facing. DNM - -*Rev.* M to l., ANNO; above, cross; in ex., THEΥP';  
to r., X/I; beneath, A28 mm. *B. M. C.* p. 144, No. 172.

1 specimen.

483. Same. Inscription illegible.

*Rev.* K on l., ANNO; above, cross; beneath, Ϸ  
Date illegible.22 mm. *B. M. C.* p. 146, Nos. 99 ff.

2 specimens.

484. Same. Inscription illegible.

*Rev.* Date illegible.23 mm. *B. M. C.* p. 146, Nos. 199 ff.

1 specimen.

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<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions of this mint are undoubtedly intended to be the same but are almost always blundered.



*Alexandria*

485. DN MARIC PPAV Bust, facing. A hole through the middle of the coin.

*Rev.* I+B; in ex., ΑΛΕΞ

13 mm. *B. M. C.* p. 148, Nos. 220 ff.

1 specimen.

Phocas, 602–610

*Constantinople*

486. DN FOCA ]PERPAV Bust, facing.

*Rev.* XX; above, cross. In ex., CON[

25 mm. *B. M. C.* p. 167, No. 53.

1 specimen.

487. Same. Inscription illegible. Type almost obliterated. Attributed to Phocas rather than to Tiberius II on the ground of style.

*Rev.* In ex., CONΔ (the Δ uncertain).

22 mm. *B. M. C.* p. 167, No. 53.

1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*

608/9

488. DNFOCA NEAV Phocas and Leontia standing facing.

*Rev.* Θ; to l., ANNO; above, cross; to r., 4/II; mint mark illegible.

27 mm. Cf. *B. M. C.* p. 175, No. 110.

1 specimen.

Heraclius, 610–641

*Constantinople*

489. Three figures, standing. Very obscure.

*Rev.* M; in ex., CON Obscure. Countermarked w. half of eight-spoked wheel.

27 mm.  
1 specimen.

*Nicomedia*

612/3

490. Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine standing facing. Inscription illegible. Struck over Maurice, bust as consul, facing. The eagle sceptre with short stem shows that it was not from *Nicomedia* but from *Antioch* *B. M. C.* p. 145, No. 184.

*Rev.* M; to l., ANNO; above, cross; in ex., NIKO; to r., II/I; beneath, A Struck over M above, cross; to r., X/IIII (595/6). Maurice at *Antioch*. *B. M. C.* p. 145, No. 184.

30 mm. *B. M. C.* p. 216, Nos. 234-6.  
1 specimen.

*Alexandria*

491. S

*Rev.* Cross potent on two steps. - - €ROTL' (uncertain). Obscure.

15 mm. *B. M. C.* p. 228, Nos. 309 f.  
1 specimen.

*Uncertain Mint*

612/3

492. Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine standing facing. Restruck on a coin of Justin II of Antioch.

*Rev.* M; on r., II/I

28 mm.  
1 specimen.

493. Heraclius and Heraclius. Constantine standing facing. Inscription illegible.

*Rev.* M or K Obscure. Date and mint mark illegible.

26 mm. Cf. *B. M. C.* pp. 202 ff., Nos. 145 ff.  
1 specimen.

### Constans II, 641–668

#### *Constantinople*

641–651

494. ΕΝΤΟΥΤΟ ΝΙΚΑ Constans standing, beardless, facing. Inscription illegible.

*Rev.* Θ; to l., ΑΝΑ; to r., ΝΕΟ; above, cross. Inscriptions to l. and r. illegible; ex. illegible.

22 mm. *B. M. C.* pp. 268 f., Nos. 101 ff.  
4 specimens.

656/7

495. Same inscription. Constans standing, bearded, facing. Inscription illegible.

*Rev.* M; to l., ΚΩΝ; to r., CΤΑΝ; above, star. Inscriptions obscure; ex. illegible.

21 mm. *B. M. C.* pp. 275 f., Nos. 163 ff.  
1 specimen.

### Sassanian Coins

#### Khosrau II, A.D. 590–628

496. Bust r. with crown surmounted by two spreading wings enclosing star and crescent; three stars and crescent in margin. Double circle of dots. Inscription illegible.

*Rev.* Fire altar; on either side attendant facing;

to l., star; to r., crescent; four stars and crescents in margin. Triple circle of dots. Inscription illegible.  
31 mm. Dirhem. Paruck p. 387, Nos. 448 ff.  
1 specimen.

### Arabic Coins

#### Imitations of Justin II

##### *Scythopolis*

497\*. CKVΘO ΠOΛHC Justin and Sophia seated facing on double throne, nimbate; each holds cruciform scepter; curved supports of back of throne shown to l. and r.; between their heads, cross.

*Rev.* M; to l., ANNO; to r., 4/II; above, cross; beneath, A; in ex. NIKO (The A is often nearly ◇)  
28–30 mm.  
2 specimens.

498\*. Same.

*Rev.* Same, but the Ns of ANNO are reversed.  
26–27 mm.  
3 specimens.

499. Same.

*Rev.* Same, with ANNO but to r., 4/II/O; in ex. NIK  
25–29 mm.  
9 specimens.

500. Same.

*Rev.* Same, with ● for O  
27 mm.  
1 specimen.

501. Same.

*Rev.* Same with O and ANNO as in 498.

27 mm.

1 specimen.

502\*. Same.

*Rev.* Same, with ANNO but to r.,  $\Psi$ /II/O; in ex. HIK

27 mm.

2 specimens.

503. Same. (1 overstruck on rev. of same type.)

*Rev.* Same, but to r.,  $\Pi$ /II/O; in ex. NIK (1 overstruck on *obv.* of same type. CKV and part of the figures may be seen.)

27 mm.

2 specimens.

504\*. Same.

*Rev.* Same, inscription to r. barbarous.

26–32 mm.

2 specimens.

505. Same.

*Rev.* M; to l., II/A/Θ; to r., N/N; beneath, A; in ex. HN (obscure).

29 mm.

1 specimen.

506. Similar, but inscription begins at upper l. and reads counterclockwise.

*Rev.* M; to l.,  $\Psi$ /II; above, cross; to r.,  $\Delta\Pi\Pi O$ ; beneath, A; in ex. NIKO, retrograde.

29 mm.

1 specimen.

507\*. Similar, but inscription normal. Counter-marked.

لا اله

الا الله

وحده

*Rev.* M to l., ANNO; to r., 4/II; beneath, A; in ex. NIK Countermarked محمد

رسول

الله

26 mm.

1 specimen.

508\*. Inscription illegible. Same type. Counter-marked.

طب

*Rev.* M; to l., ANN; to r., S/II/O; above, cross; beneath, A; in ex. O[

28 mm.

1 specimen.

509\*. Same. Same countermark.

*Rev.* M; to l., ANNO; to r., O/X/\*; above, cross; beneath, €; in ex. NIK

29 mm.

1 specimen.

510\*. No inscription. Same type.

*Rev.* M; to l., ANN; to r., S/II/O; above, cross; beneath, A; in ex. ONIK

28 mm.

1 specimen.

511. Same type. Obscure.

*Rev.* M; to l., obscure; to r., star; above, cross; beneath, B (?); in ex. OIA[

27 mm.

1 specimen.

512\*. Same.

*Rev.* M; to l., N; to r., \*/X/II; above †; beneath, A; in ex. ]K

27 mm.

1 specimen.

513\*. Same.

*Rev.* M; to l., ANN; to r., \*/X/II; above, †; beneath, A; in ex. OINX

27 mm.

1 specimen.

514.\*<sup>1</sup> Same. Overstruck on rev. of same type (?).

*Rev.* M; to l., ANNO; to r., N/I/K; above, cross; in ex. يسن. Overstruck on obv. of same type.

27 mm.

1 specimen.

**Ummayad, A. D. 690-750**

**With formula of faith alone**

515.

لا اله  
الا الله  
وحده

---

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly numbered 515 on plate.

*Rev.*

محمد  
رسول  
الله

12-25 mm. *B. M. Or.* I p. 174, Nos. 4-6.  
123 specimens.

516. As 515, but within three circles.

*Rev.* Formula of faith (Date and mint illegible).

18 mm.  
1 specimen.

With formula of faith and Ummayyad formula

517\*.

لا اله الا  
لا اله الا لله  
حده لا شر  
يك له

*Rev.*

الله احد  
الله الصمد  
لم يلد ولم  
يولد

20 mm. Paris p. 351, No. 1374.  
2 specimens.

116 A.H. = 734 A.D.

518. In center

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له



Around:

محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق

*Rev.* Ummayyad formula in center. Around

... ضرب هذا الفلوس سنة ست ع ...

20 mm. Berlin, p. 321, No. 2062.

4 specimens.

With figures

519.

لا اله

الا الله

وحده

*Rev.* محمد رسول الله around. In center: flower.

18 mm. Paris p. 414, No. 1542. (The flower is an imitation of the Jerusalem shekels with Aaron's rod.)

3 specimens.

520. Five-branched candlestick.

*Rev.* Same inscription.

15-16 mm.

3 specimens.

521\*. In a square.

لا اله

الا الله

وحده

*Rev.* In a square, fish facing l. Same inscription.

13-17 mm. Cf. *B. M. Or.* Additions to Vol. I, p. 88.

36 specimens.

522\*. Same inscription in a double circle.

*Rev.* Same inscription. Bird flying to l.

14-17 mm. Ibid. p. 88, No. 38 m., Pl. V.

8 specimens.

523. Same inscription.

*Rev.* Same inscription in centre and repeated around. In center, a device which is an imitation of coins of Herod with the caduceus.

17 mm. Paris p. 416, No. 1548.

1 specimen.

524\*. Same inscription around. In center لله

*Rev.* In center, duck l. Inscription illegible.

19 mm.

2 specimens.

525. Palm. Around, formula of faith.

*Rev.* Palm. Around, formula of faith.

16 mm.

1 specimen.

526\*.

محمد

رسول

الله

*Rev.* Lion to l., الو لا اله

20 mm.

1 specimen.

527.

[لا اله]

الا الله

وحده

*Rev.* Lion to l., باو ...

13 mm.

1 specimen.

*Abrashahr*

93 A.D.

528. Obliterated.

*Rev.* Inscription in margin obliterated.

الله احد الله  
 الصمد لم يلد و  
 لم يولد ولم يكن  
 له كفوا احد

Æ 27 mm. *B. M. Or. I*, p. 7, No. 43.  
 2 specimens.

*Al-Urdunn (Jordan)*529. Around *بسم الله ضرب بالاردن*. In field*محمد رسول الله**Rev.* In field

لا اله  
 الا الله  
 وحده  
 \*

20 mm. Paris, p. 354, No. 1385.  
 5 specimens.

*'Asqalān (Ascalon)*530. Around *بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلص في عسقلان*

In field, formula of faith.

*Rev.* Formula of faith.

25 mm. Paris, p. 394, No. 1489.  
 1 specimen.

*ṣri in Syria?*

531\*. Formula of faith.

*Rev.*

محمد  
رسول الله  
بصر

15 mm.  
1 specimen.

*Ludd (Lydda), Palestine*

532. Around بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بلد . In field,  
formula of faith.

*Rev.* Formula of faith.

25 mm. Paris, p. 401, No. 1507.  
1 specimen.

*Al-Ramlah*

533. Around بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالرّملة  
In field, formula of faith and palm.

*Rev.* Wreath within linear circle. In center, for-  
mula of faith.

25 mm. Paris, p. 383, No. 1463.  
2 specimens.

*Al-Ruhā'*

116 A.H. = 734 A.D.

534. Around بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالرها  
سنة ست عشرة ومية

**In field**

الله احد الله  
الصمد لم يلد  
ولم يولد

*Rev.* Around محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى  
ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين

**In field, formula of faith.**

16 mm. Paris, p. 386, No. 1472.

8 specimens.

**Unknown Mint**

535\*. Formula of faith.

ضرب  
الفلس  
باك رحه (?)

*Rev.* (akrh, akrb, adrh, akdh).

20 mm.

1 specimen.

**Baysan**

536\*. Formula of faith within 3 circles

*Rev.* Formula of faith:

هذا الفللس في يسن

19 mm.

1 specimen.

**Tabariyah**

537. Formula of faith within 3 circles.

*Rev.* Formula of faith.

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفللس بطبريه

22 mm. *B. M. Or.* I, p. 183, No. 52.  
8 specimens.

538. Around, formula of faith. In center

طبر  
يه

*Rev.* Around, formula of faith. In center, what  
Lavoix calls a degenerate amphora form?

19 mm. Paris p. 392, No. 1485.  
4 specimens.

539. In center,

الله ا  
حد الله  
الصمد

Around

... الله وحده لا شريك له

*Rev.* In center, formula of faith. To r. a branch  
with two nodules on stem.

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بطبرية

20 mm. *B. M. Or.* I p. 183, No. 53.  
10 specimens.

540. In field formula of faith and bird on perch.  
Around

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بطبرية

*Rev.* Formula of faith within three lines.

23 mm. Paris, p. 389, No. 1477.  
1 specimen.

541. In field formula of faith and tree-form, probably  
a date-palm. Around same inscription as on the  
foregoing.

*Rev.* Around, formula of faith.

In field                      الله  
                                     احد الله  
                                     الصمد

18 mm. Paris p. 391, No. 1482.  
 1 specimen.

542. In field formula of faith and lion. Inscription around illegible.

*Rev.* In field formula of faith. Inscription around illegible.

17 mm.  
 2 specimens.

543.

بسم ا  
 لله محمد  
 رسول ا  
 لله

*Rev.*

بسم ا  
 لله فلو  
 س طبر  
 به

16 mm. Cf. Paris, p. 293, No. 1486.  
 1 specimen.

*Dimishq (Damascus)*

544. Formula of faith, below branch.

*Rev.*

ضرب  
بدمشق  
الفلس  
\*س\*

18 mm. *B. M. Or.* I, p. 181, No. 44.  
1 specimen.

545. Formula of faith.

*Rev.*

ضرب  
هذا الفلس  
بدمشق

16–20 mm. Paris, p. 378, No. 1451.  
7 specimens.

546. Formula of faith within three circles.

*Rev.*

ضرب  
هذا الفلس  
بدمشق

Around [ محمد رسول الله ] بسم الله; formalized  
star and crescent.

28 mm. *B. M. Or.* I, p. 182, No. 46.  
2 specimens.



547. Formula of faith.

*Rev.*

\*  
ضرب  
بدمشق [ق]

16 mm. *B. M. Or.* I, p. 182, No. 48.  
1 specimen.

548.

❧  
دمشق  
جائز

*Rev.* Formula of faith.

19 mm. Var. of Paris, p. 375, No. 1441.  
1 specimen.

549\*. Formula of faith. Caliph standing facing,  
hand on sword.

*Rev.* ❧, on r. دمشق Formula of faith around.

18 mm. *B. M. Or.* Additions to Vol. I, p. 11, Nos. 39–42.  
1 specimen.

‘*Ammān*

550. Formula of faith.

*Rev.* A trefoil. Inscription illegible.

17 mm. *B. M. Or.* I, p. 184, No. 54.  
3 specimens.

‘*Abd-al-Malik ibn Marwān*

A.D. 685–705

551\*. Two figures standing facing each with sword,  
between, on three steps, a tall standard with globe.

*Rev.* M with six pointed star above; beneath, A

[مما امر به ؟] .. الملك

بسم الله عبد الله عبد ...

26 mm. Walker, N. C. 58 (1935) p. 124, VI f., Pl. IX, 7, 8.  
2 specimen.

### 'ABBĀSIDS

#### *Al-Mahdi*

A.D. 775–785

552. No marginal inscription.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

*Rev.*

محمد

رسول

الله

Margin illegible.

23 mm. *B. M. Or.* I p. 204 ff., 112 ff.  
1 specimen.

#### *Al-Rashid*

A.D. 786–809

553. Year 182 A.H.

*Rev.* Mint Al-Muḥammadiyah

*℞.* *B. M. Or.* I p. 77, No. 198.  
1 specimen.

## BAḤRĪ MAMLŪKS

*Al-Manṣūr Sayf-al-Dīn Qalā'ūn*

A.D. 1279–1290

554. Ⲭ dirhem ••••

محمد رسول الله  
ارسله بالهدى  
السلطان الملك

*Rev.*

سيف  
المنصور الدنيا  
والدين قلاون

Ⲭ. Cf. Paris Or. III p. 304, No. 766.  
1 specimen.

555. Ⲭ dirhem

••••  
ودين الحق  
••••

*Rev.* Illegible.

Ⲭ. Cf. *B. M. Or.* IV pp. 145 f.  
1 specimen.

## BURJĪ MAMLŪKS

*Al-Zāhir Barqūq*

A.D. 1382–1399

*Dimishq (Damascus)*

556. Obliterated.

*Rev.*

ب  
ض  
مشق  
بد

23 mm. *B. M. Or.* IV pp. 196 ff.  
1 specimen.

557. Hexagram in circle.

*Rev.*

الملك الظاهر

15 mm. *B. M. Or.* IV p. 198, No. 640.  
1 specimen.

Uncertain Ruler

558.

••••  
رکن الد  
••••

*Rev.* Illegible.

Æ 15 mm.  
1 specimen.

*Egypt*

559. Mamlūk fabric. The name Al-Zāhir can be made out, but there is nothing to show which one.

22 mm. (roughly oblong).  
2 specimens.

## OTTOMANS

*Murād V*

1876

560.

14 mm.  
1 specimen.

### Addenda

Three of the coins retained at Amman I was unable to identify from the descriptions furnished. As it was found impossible to locate the coins themselves I have no option but to reproduce verbatim the original description. The numbers at the left are those assigned at the museum. The dimensions are in inches.

#### *Nerva*

R. 63 Æ Head of Emp. r. IMPTRAIANOAVG  
GERDAC - - MT - -

Rev. Goddess standing l. COSVPPSPQR - - INC.  
Diameter, .7.

#### *Probably minted in Syria*

21. 2888 Æ Head of *Nerva* r. ΝΕΡΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ  
CΡΦΒΑΓ - -

Rev. Goddess standing l.; extended hand over a bird  
ΔΗΜΑΡΧ(ΕΞΗΑΤ)  
Diameter, .75.

#### *Galerius Valerius Maximianus*

2. 3023 Æ Head of Emp. r., laureate GALVAL-  
MAXIMIANVSNOBCAVG

Rev. Nude figure holding a wreath in r. hand and  
a cornucopia in the l. hand. GENIO CAESARIS  
In field, U/H. In ex. SMT  
Diameter, .95.

## APPENDIX

Mr. Walker refers in the course of his article mentioned in the introduction (above, p. 14) to a paper by M. R. Cotteville-Giraudet entitled "La Collection Decourdemanche (Monnaies Musulmanes) au Cabinet de Médailles" (*Revue Numismatique* 37 [1934] pp. 199–219) in the course of which (pp. 210–219) he argues that certain coins published by Lavoix as Arabic imitations are in fact the product of local Byzantine mints. Since the material from Jerash bears on this question I take the opportunity of setting forth the reasons which make his theory seem to me inadmissible. With his general contention that pieces of barbarous appearance are not necessarily imitations I heartily agree, though it must be remarked that the archaeological evidence is all against his thesis that *folles* circulated only in the province where they were struck. But the attempt to prove the existence of Byzantine mints at Damascus and Caesarea rests in the end on the assumption that all Arabic imitations have some part of the inscription in Arabic. On the testimony of the Jerash coins that assumption is no longer tenable.

In dealing with the coins from Damascus (Lavoix 1 and 2, B. M. C. Or. IX, 1), he urges against the view that these are Arabic: 1, they are dated in Latin which occurs on no other Arabic imitation; 2, ΔΑΜ is written for Damascus, and abbreviation, the regular rule on Byzantine coins, is never found on Arabic

ones; 3, there is no piece of Heraclius that could have served as a model, the date being 17 when Heraclius' coins bear three figures on the obverse. The letters on the obverse are held to have been originally  $\Lambda\epsilon\Theta$ , the name of the Byzantine governor who had charge of the issue.

1 and 2 are arguments from analogy which could only amount to proof if it could be established that the general rule of Arabic imitations was founded on some positive enactment which would make exceptions impossible. The coins from Jerash sufficiently prove the possibility of exceptions, or rather of the fact that, at the beginning, there was no general rule. This was in any case inherently probable.

3 certainly proves that this is not a direct copy from a Byzantine original, but does not really touch the question of responsibility for it. As a matter of fact there is reason for believing that the model was not Heraclius but Constans II. The only occurrences of Heraclius beardless or with a short beard, standing alone, are from Alexandria (B. M. C. 225, 283–286) and from Carthage (B. M. C. 234 f.). But why are these called Heraclius? There is no inscription. Wroth (p. 287) remarks that some of the pieces described under Heraclius may have been struck, under Constans (e.g. p. 227). Is it not reasonable to suppose that the obverse which is Constans' earliest at Constantinople was his invention and is his in Alexandria also? In the case of Carthage the probability is increased by the legend  $\epsilon\text{N TOYTO NIK}\alpha$  which appears on four of Constans' types and never other-

wise on those of Heraclius. Since there are no reasons apparent for attributing either of these series to Heraclius they must be given to Constans, who, therefore, first introduces the obverse of the Emperor standing alone. It follows that the Damascus obverse must have been an invention without precedent, or it must have been struck subsequent to 641 when the city was in the hands of the Arabs. In the former case the innovation is much more likely to have been made by them than by a Byzantine provincial official on his own responsibility. This applies also to the obverse of B. M. C. Or. IX, 1 where the Emperor appears seated. For this there is no direct antecedent. Maurice is seated on some of his gold (B. M. C. 127, 1) and there is silver with Heraclius and his son seated together (B. M. C. 195, 96 ff.) but neither analogy is complete. Whether the figure here be Heraclius or Constans, it is most improbable that an imperial governor would introduce the type without precedent and without parallel. This is the more evident since both novel obverses purport to have been struck in the same year, 626/7 if the Emperor be Heraclius.

Whichever Emperor inspired the obverse, the reverse is more like that of Heraclius (B. M. C. 206 ff.). Yet there is a detail to which M. Cotteville-Giraudet himself draws attention which makes a difficulty for his theory. The date is written X<sup>4</sup>11, and that is the way 17 appears on the coins of Constans (B. M. C. 278 f. 192-197). But under Heraclius it is always written X<sup>4</sup>1 (B. M. C. 208, 186-190). Surely the natural conclusion is that the imitation is subsequent to the year 17 of Constans, that is



656/7. That would dispose of the possibility of Byzantine minting in Damascus.

There are, in addition, features of these pieces which make it in the highest degree doubtful that they could be Byzantine. In the first place, the name ΛΕΟ on the obverse creates an insuperable difficulty. That ΛΕΟ *was* a name is certainly the easiest explanation (though the suggestion might be made that it was a misunderstanding of the ΝΕΟ on the right side of Constans' reverse, B. M. C. p. 268 f.) but the theory that a Byzantine Governor struck his own name beside the imperial portrait is so unlikely historically as to be incredible. That the Arabic governor should have been named Leo is doubtless surprising as it is certainly incapable of proof, but it is obviously a lesser difficulty.

Secondly, the symbol on the obverse, the eagle (?) on a T is quite unlike anything else in the Byzantine coinage and is therefore an innovation which argues against connection with an imperial mint.

Thirdly, the errors on the reverse are such as a foreigner would make and a Greek would not. The bronze of Heraclius and Constans is careless and debased, but ANO for ANNO is not among its sins. On the other hand the ANA of Constans' reverse (B. M. C. p. 266 f. etc.) might well have caused the confusion in the mind of a die-sinker who did not understand what he was doing. Again, the *officina* mark under the M has given place, on the Damascus coins, to an inverted crescent and a bar which would not have been used by a Greek but by one who did not know what the letter meant.

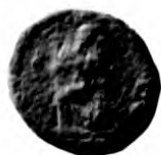
Perhaps the most cogent argument is the likeness of the fabric to that of other Arabic imitations and the entire unlikeness to the bronzes of Heraclius or Constans. That coins so strange and aberrant in design should be so superior in fabric must mean that they were struck by an authority other than that which perpetrated the degenerate Byzantine coins of the mid seventh century.

The case of Lavoix No. 38 is an exaggeration of that for Damascus. Here the word TIBEIIO is read as the name Tiberius and it is suggested that it is either Tiberius the son of Heraclius or the Emperor Tiberius II. But the former never appears elsewhere on the coins even associated with his father and it is out of the question that he should in this case appear alone, which none of the other princes ever did. As for the latter, his coins are so very different in type, size and style that he is eliminated. It would have been wiser to assume a Governor in this case too. At least that supposition is more difficult to disprove.

The mint seems to be correctly read as Caesarea. But M. Cottevieille-Giraudet argues that it must be Caesarea in Cappadocia because Caesarea in Palestine was in the hands of the Arabs before 640. This is precisely the reason for accepting Caesarea in Palestine as the mint.

There can be no doubt that these coins are, as Lavoix believed, Arabic imitations of Byzantine coins exhibiting various degrees of ignorant and indifferent departure from their originals.





10.



16.



19.



22.

26.

28.







32.



34.



36.



35.



37.



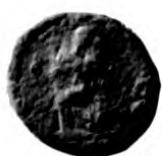
38.



41.



JERASH



10.



16.



19.



22.



26.



28.









32.



34.



36.



35.



37.



38.



41.





42.



44.



43.



45.



46.



49.



54.







65.



66.



69.



70.



76.



73.



72.



74.







42.



44.



43.



45.



46.



49.



54.









65.



66.

69.

70.

76.



73.

72.

74.







77.



78a.



78b.



78c.



79.



93.



108.



112.



117.







118.



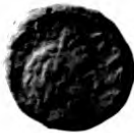
356.



357.



119.



358.



359.



361.



364.



369.



362.



497.







65.



66.



69.



70.



76.



73.



72.



74.







# JERASH

# PLATE V



77.



78a.



78b.



78c.



79.



93.



108.



112.



117.







118.



356.



119.



357.



358.



359.



361.



364.



369.



362.



497.







498.



502.



504.



507.



508.







509.



510.



515.



512.



513.









517.



521.



522.



524.



526.



531.



535.



536.



549.



549.



551.





JERASH

PLATE VII



498.



502.



504.



507.



508.







509.



510.



515.



512.



513.







517.



521.



522.



524.



526.



531.



535.



536.



549.



549.



551.







# NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

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# MISCELLANEA NUMISMATICA: CYRENE TO INDIA

BY  
EDWARD T. NEWELL



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
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# MISCELLANEA NUMISMATICA: CYRENE TO INDIA

BY EDWARD T. NEWELL

## FOREWORD

Almost every active collector of ancient coins meets from time to time with entirely unknown varieties, or with specimens whose types may present some slight but significant variation. A few such pieces, covering the less well known field of issues produced to the south and east of the Mediterranean Sea, have been chosen at random from his collection by the writer, and here described. To them have been added a few specimens whose types, though rare, are well known, but to which every added example may bring a little further understanding of the series as a whole.

Perhaps few of the coins presented here can boast of any very great importance in themselves, but it should be the scientific duty of every collector to make available a record of unusual pieces in his possession, in order that existing gaps in our numismatic material may be filled. The writer will be amply rewarded if even one of his specimens should prove of real assistance to some future student.

## 2 MISCELLANEA NUMISMATICA:

### CYRENAICA

#### CYRENE

The large and interesting collection of coins, formed during his residence in Egypt by the late Llewellyn Phillips, M.D., passed after his death into the possession of Mr. Russell Burrage of Boston, Massachusetts. The Phillips' portion of Mr. Burrage's collection was later acquired by Mr. Wayte Raymond of this city. The present writer wishes here to express his appreciation for the permission readily granted by Mr. Raymond to look through numerous small boxes in which Dr. Phillips had once stored miscellaneous bronze coins and which apparently had not since been disturbed. The majority of these coins were in a more or less badly corroded state and consisted largely of Ptolemaic issues, Alexandrian coinages of the Imperial period, late Roman Imperial of the fourth century A.D., early Byzantine and Arabic coins. Many specimens were so corroded that they were quite illegible, or nearly so. Some of the more promising were cleaned by the writer in the hope of finding unusual or interesting varieties, and the sequel shows that the time thus spent was not entirely wasted. Among the half-dozen Cyrenaic coins found was the following piece, which appears to be an unpublished variety.

## PERIOD III

375–308 B. C.

1 AMMΩ, above laureate head of Apollo to l. Behind, ear of barley. The whole in circle of dots. (K)–Υ on either side of a *silphium* plant. To r., ear of barley. Circle of dots. Bronze.→. Gr. 8.82. The coin must have lost considerable weight in cleaning. Plate I.

In both style and fabric, the coin fits in with the series of bronze pieces assigned by Mr. E. S. G. Robinson<sup>1</sup> to *circa* 375–308 B.C. On our coin, however, Apollo's head faces to the l., and behind it is to be seen a symbol. The accompanying magistrate's name reads AMMΩ, perhaps the same person who signed only AM on the smaller denomination, (*Cyrenaica*, p. 45, No. 197, Pl. XIX, 9).

## THIBRON

322 B. C.

In the parcel of coins secured from the heirs of Richard Norton,<sup>2</sup> there were included a number of copper coins of common Cyrenaic types, both autonomous and Ptolemaic. Among these was the present specimen, but covered on each side with so thick and hard a layer of corrosion that it was absolutely illegible. At that time the writer was

<sup>1</sup> British Museum Catalogue, *Cyrenaica*, Nos. 180–186, Pl. XVIII, 9–17.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat., *Cyrenaica*, p. cvii, footnote.



#### 4 MISCELLANEA NUMISMATICA:

not versed in the art of cleaning copper, and because of the coin's shape believed it to be merely one of the early, thick pieces of Cyrene. He therefore laid it aside. Recently, in clearing out an old box of miscellaneous accumulations, he came across it once more; and having in the meanwhile learned from Dr. Fink's work<sup>3</sup> the best means of cleaning such unpromising material, he proceeded to put it through the electrolytic process. Imagine his delighted astonishment when, after due time, the types gradually appeared and the name of Thibron, that reckless, unscrupulous and ill-starred adventurer, could be clearly read.

2 Head of young Heracles to l., wearing lion's skin, in circle of dots.

ΘΙΒΡΩ between spear head to r. and club to l. Below, uncertain monogram or symbol (?). Circle of dots around.

Bronze. Gr. 8.51. ↑↓.

Plate I.

The story of Thibron is so well known that it hardly requires repetition here. A follower of Harpalos, Alexander the Great's absconding treasurer, Thibron first appears on the scene in Crete, whither Harpalos, after escaping from Athens, had led the fleet and army gathered together by the lure of his stolen gold. Thither also came certain political exiles from the Cyrenaica who joined the

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Colin Fink, *The Restoration of Ancient Bronzes and Other Alloys*, New York, 1925.

assembled group of mercenaries, disbanded soldiers and cut-throats, officered by a choice selection of like-minded "gentlemen of fortune." Such a band of adventurers, with all to gain and little to lose, if boldly led could effect much in turbulent times. The news of Alexander's death in distant Babylon had now reached the west. All restraint seemed thus removed; power and wealth lay in the grasp of any bold and persuasive spirit who was willing to dare all and to look not too closely at the means employed. Just such a person was Thibron. He now assassinated his master, and putting himself at the head of the assembled force, set sail for Cyrene to seek fame, fortune and a kingdom.

The district of the Cyrenaica at this time was, as usual, torn by bitter factional strife. The invaders landed, and after varying successes managed to seize Apollonia, the port of Cyrene, and even to besiege the capital. The towns of Barce and Euesperides, seeing their chance, joined the marauders. Thibron proclaimed himself king. But fortune was fickle; Mnesicles, one of Thibron's officers, quarrelled with his chief over the spoils and deserted to the Cyrenaeans into whom he fused new courage. Help was also sent from Carthage, but their combined forces were routed by Thibron who again laid siege to the city. In desperation at this new misfortune, the Cyrenaeans appealed for help to Ptolemy, recently established in his satrapy of Egypt. The Lagide gladly grasped at this unexpected opportunity to add so wealthy and important

## 6 MISCELLANEA NUMISMATICA:

a province to his dominions, and despatched his ablest general, Ophellas, with a body of troops to the aid of the hard-pressed Cyrenaeans. Ophellas was completely successful, Thibron's army was routed and dispersed, the adventurer himself captured and crucified at Apollonia, and the Cyrenaica pacified and incorporated with Ptolemy's Egyptian possessions.

The types chosen by Thibron for his short-lived coinage are strongly Alexandrine in character, although the style and fabric are clearly those of contemporaneous Cyrenaic bronze issues.<sup>4</sup> The head of young Heracles recurs on Alexander the Great's prolific silver and bronze coinages. The scheme of the reverse design is also definitely Alexandrine, although the usual bowcase is here replaced by the spear head. It is most unfortunate that the monogram or symbol on the reverse remains illegible, thus depriving us for the moment of a possible indication of the mint in which the coin was once struck. Apollonia, as the base of Thibron's operations against Cyrene, is a possible suggestion. Euhesperides might also be suggested, for this city coined more extensively in bronze than did Barce, the other Cyrenaic community which had supported Thibron's cause. It was also at Euhesperides where was located the scene of one of Heracles' labors, and its mint is

<sup>4</sup> Aside from the typical thick, heavy flan, note what Mr. Robinson, in speaking of other heads of Heracles on Cyrenaic coinages (*loc. cit.*, p. xciv) calls "the Libyan character of the profile with its prominent frontal bone paralleled on heads of Ammon and Carneius."

known to have struck autonomous bronze coins with the Hero's head as their obverse type.<sup>5</sup> But for our particular coin, the choice of types is far more likely to have been due to the widespread influence of Alexander's issues (as is especially suggested by the scheme of its reverse design) than to any merely local reason.

The unexpected appearance of a coin bearing the name of Thibron adds another element to the controversy, once so popular among scholars, regarding the person to whom should be assigned the *Θιβρώνειον νόμισμα* of Photius' *Lexicon*,<sup>6</sup>—whether to Thibron the Spartan harmost of the early fourth century, or to Thibron the adventurer in Cyrene. The last word had remained with Ernest Babelon who argued<sup>7</sup> ably in favor of the former. The other side of the controversy was brilliantly sustained by Théodore Reinach in his *L'histoire par les monnaies*, pp. 257–260, where he marshals some telling arguments in favor of Thibron the *condottiere* of Alexander's age, as against the Spartan Thibron of the fifth century B.C.

One of Reinach's principal arguments is based on a neglected passage in Pollux where the expression *Θιβρώνειον (νόμισμα)* occurs in the middle of a group of names designating bad or forged coins, in con-

<sup>5</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat., *Cyrenaica*, p. cxci, Nos. 5 *bis* a and b; p. 126, No. 5 *bis*, Plate XLVI, 10–12.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hultsch, *Metrol. Scriptorum reliquiae*, Vol. I, p. 329.

<sup>7</sup> *La monnaie Thibronienne*, in *Mélanges numismatiques*, 2nd Ser., 1893, pp. 313–322 (reprint of an original article in the *Revue des Études grecques*, 1893, Vol. VI). Cf., also, *Traité des monnaies grecques*,<sup>1</sup> Vol. I, pp. 474–479.

trast to certain well-known and everywhere acceptable money previously mentioned. Most other commentators had overlooked this particular passage because it occurs in only two manuscripts and was omitted in the best (Bekker's) edition of Pollux. Reinach therefore argues that "Thibronian money" must mean a particularly bad kind of money, probably some *fourrée* or debased coins issued by Thibron when in dire need of funds with which to pay his mercenaries. Our coin can scarcely be a specimen of this supposedly "bad" money of Thibron's, for otherwise its types would have imitated some well known coin of precious metal, and not merely a copper coin of Alexander. But so long as no actual coin, bearing the name of Thibron, was offered in evidence, the question remained, at best, rather academic. Today we actually do possess such a coin, and as it comes from the Cyrenaica and as in types, style and fabric it can only belong to the Thibron of Cyrenaic fame, the scales are now heavily weighted in his favor.

On the other hand, Photius, or his original sources, would hardly have honored a mere copper coin by mention—but the fact that such a coin actually exists, renders likely a further assumption that silver (and even gold) coins had also once been coined by Thibron. For by the time he arrived in Africa perhaps little remained of Harpalos' stolen five-thousand talents of gold. "Money talks", especially to mercenaries and adventurers of the kind gathered about Thibron; and it would be surprising

indeed if he had not commenced to coin at the earliest possible moment. He could not have depended merely upon such money as was to be found in Cyrene. But Ophellas, when he had finally secured the entire province for Ptolemy, would have been at especial pains to gather in all the adventurer's issues and melt them down for immediate recoinage. To date, only one (?) modest copper piece appears to have escaped. Further scientific excavations at Apollonia, Barce, Euhesperides, or even in our museums, may bring more to light.

The discovery of No. 2 seems to save from an apparently undeserved oblivion a similar coin first published by Pellerin, *Recueil de médailles de peuples et de villes*, Vol. I, pp. 164-165, Plate XXVI, 13. He there pictures it as having a helmeted head of Athena on the obverse and on the reverse the letters ΘΙΒΡΩ horizontally placed between a spear head and a club, the reverse thus being identical with that of our own coin. Pellerin assigned the piece to Thibros, a town supposedly in Thessaly<sup>7a</sup> and mentioned only by Stephanus Byzantinus after Lycophron. Mionnet in his first edition, Vol. II, p. 24, No. 171, accepts Pellerin's description and attribution, but in the Supplement, Vol. III, p. 308, sees fit to place a query after the name. Perhaps he was led to this hesitancy by Eckhel's sceptical remark concerning the attribution, *nescio an satis tuto*, in his *Doctrina numorum veterum*, Vol. II, p. 150.

<sup>7a</sup> K. Ziegler, in Pauly-Wissowa, 2nd Series, Vol. VI, p. 277, follows Meineke in placing the town in Caria.

Sestini, too, felt dubious with regard to the piece, for he mentions it only in the second portion of his *Classes generales* which is devoted to uncertain or erroneous attributions. On p. 130 he even says *est suspectus*, though it is not clear whether he here refers to the attribution or to the coin itself, probably to the former because, previously, on p. 32, he states that he had seen another similar coin in Cousinery's collection.

In the *Annali* of the Deutsches archäologisches Institut in Rom, 1839, p. 278, Pl. R, 8, H. Hase publishes a little coin from Baron Stackelberg's collection which he mistakenly likens to the above mentioned piece described by Pellerin and Mionnet. It is, however, merely a misread copper coin of Boeotia of the fourth century B.C. with a Heracles (not Athena, as believed by Hase) head to right on the obverse, and on the reverse the usual club and Boeotian shield accompanied by the letters of a magistrate's name. It is only to this piece that Friedlaender-Weil give a reference in their *Reperitorium zur antiken Numismatik*, p. 162. In fact, no reference is there given to any other printed discussion of the Pellerin piece; and the coin seems, by this time, to have disappeared completely from scientific literature. Nor does so comprehensive a work as the first edition of Head's *Historia Numorum* make any mention of it. Even the many scholars (i. e., Mommsen, Lenormant, Babelon, Reinach, and others) who have discussed the *Θιβρώνειον νόμισμα* ignore or are unaware of so

promising an object as a coin bearing the letters ΘΙΒΡΩ.

That the coin described by Pellerin must have been an actual piece, and not a figment of his imagination, is proved by the remarkable similarity between its reverse type, as pictured on his plate, and the reverse of the coin before us, brought directly from the Cyrenaica. His specimen differs from ours in its obverse type—an Athena head to r. instead of a Heracles head to l. It is possible that his coin may have been so damaged on the obverse that he misinterpreted the design, although he actually describes (p. 165) the piece as *bien conservée*. He does not give the size, but Mionnet states it to be  $4\frac{1}{2}$  according to his scale—which is also the exact diameter of our piece. The fact that Mionnet alone gives the size suggests that he actually had the coin itself before him, and it may thus still exist in the French national collection. It would be interesting if the authorities of the *Cabinet des Médailles* should succeed in rediscovering so interesting a coin. It well deserves being saved from scientific forgetfulness.

#### MAGAS (?)

Among the Norton coins was also the following, bearing straight Alexander types.

3 Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin, in circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ between club to l. and bow in case to r. Above, ΕΥ.

Bronze. Gr. 3.09. ↑↑.

Plate I.



The presence of this piece among others which had definitely come from the Cyrenaica, almost presupposes its coinage in that particular district. However, it was not until after cleaning that there became legible the magistrate's initials which so closely link it to the Cyrenaica. In the quality and details of its style, it is not unlike the Alexandrine tetradrachms correctly assigned to Cyrene by Mr. Robinson.<sup>8</sup> In this regard, as well as in its inscription which consists of the royal title only, our coin resembles the didrachm of Cyrenaic types given to the reign of Magas, 308–277 B.C.<sup>9</sup> For comparative purposes, a specimen of this type in the author's collection is reproduced on Plate I, A. Mr. Robinson assigns<sup>10</sup> this didrachm to the mint at Euhesperides, because of the apple-branch symbol in the field. Following this suggestion, the letters ΕΥ on our bronze coin may be taken as the initials of that mint, rather than those of some magistrate—although the magistrates ΕΥ, ΕΥΑ and ΕΥΦΠΙ do occur on other Cyrenaic coins of the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. Finally, it may be remarked, the careful style and neatness of manufacture of our coin point to a somewhat later date than the coin of Thibron, which in this regard more closely resembles the preceding autonomous copper.

<sup>8</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat., *Cyrenaica*, pp. cxxxix–cxl, 72, Nos. 1–2, Pl. XXVIII, 3–4.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55, No. 260, Pl. XXIV, 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. cxvi.

## MAGAS

308–277 B. C.

Among the better preserved coins in Dr. Phillips' collection occurred the following specimen.

4 ΒΑΣΙΑ above jerboa Crab.  
to l, in circle of dots. Bronze. ↑←. Gr. 2.57.  
Plate I.

Its types clearly associate the coin with the similar rare pieces described by Mr. Robinson,<sup>11</sup> but the magistrates' names ΕΥΑ and ΣΩΣΙ are here replaced by the title ΒΑΣΙΑ. This abbreviated title appears to link our piece with the above-mentioned didrachm (Plate I, A) bearing the inscription ΒΑΣΙ and the apple-branch symbol. As previously stated, this symbol has induced Mr. Robinson to suggest the assignment of the didrachm to the mint at Euhesperides, while the jerboa-crab coins belong to Cyrene itself because of the magistrates' names which they bear. Those with the letters ΕΥΑ depict the crab within a dotted circle on the obverse, the jerboa facing to the r. within another dotted circle on the reverse. Our coin, on the other hand, places the jerboa to the l. on the obverse, while the crab lacks the dotted circle and is on the reverse. In these respects, No. 4 exactly resembles the coins with ΣΩΣΙ. In point of fact, the writer is convinced that his coin and the Berlin

<sup>11</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat., *Cyrenaica*, p. cviii, Nos. 285 a–d, Pl. XXV, 22–24.

specimen, reproduced by Mr. Robinson on Plate XXV, 24, of his catalogue, are actually from the same pair of dies. If that be the case, then the letters ΣΩΣΙ must have been misread for ΒΑΣΙΑ. The letters are none too clear in the reproduction, and a further damage to the Berlin specimen at this particular spot renders the proposed emendation highly probable.

## CYPRUS

## CITIUM

The great hoard of archaic silver staters, which was unearthed at Larnaca in July, 1933, has considerably enriched the list of known Cypriote varieties and enlarged our knowledge of the island's early numismatic history—thanks to the able description and study of the find made by Mr. P. Dikaïos and Mr. E. S. G. Robinson.<sup>12</sup> As stated by Mr. Dikaïos, not all of the pieces found could be secured by the local authorities and many were surreptitiously sent out of the island. Over a year ago, upwards of a hundred pieces from the hoard were brought to the American Numismatic Society by two Cypriotes and offered for sale. No purchases were made as the lot contained no unusual varieties<sup>13</sup> and the owners had very exalted ideas as to their value.

<sup>12</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th Ser., Vol. XV, 1935, pp. 165–190.

<sup>13</sup> The lot comprised only three main types: Mr. Dikaïos' Nos. 4–30 (Idalium), 47–160 (Lapethus) and 187–426 (Paphus).

Recently the writer purchased a small lot of seven staters<sup>14</sup> from a traveller who claimed to have received the coins from Cyprus. Their surface corrosion and general appearance correspond exactly with the other coins in the hoard and there is little doubt that they once were in the Larnaca find. Only the two following are worthy of mention here, as they are better preserved than the single specimen described by Mr. Dikaïos and so furnish us with the means of definitely assigning them to their original mint, Citium.

5 Bearded head to r. wearing a crested Attic helmet.

Υ above Υ. These letters are to the l. of Heracles advancing to r., wearing lion-skin over head and hanging down back. He holds a bow in his outstretched l. and brandishes a club in his upraised r.; the whole within a square dotted frame in an incuse square.  
Stater. Gr. 11.07.

Plate I.

6 From the same die as the preceding.

From the same die as the preceding.  
Stater. Gr. 10.56.

Plate I.

<sup>14</sup> Comprising 2 Lapethus (Dikaïos Nos. 47-160), 2 Paphus (Dikaïos Nos. 187-426), 1 Salamis (Dikaïos Nos. 477-505) and 2 Citium (Dikaïos No. 530).

Both coins are from the same dies used for the specimen first published by Mr. Dikaïos, No. 530, Pl. XV, 8. By a most fortunate chance the flan of No. 5 is slightly larger than usual and, in consequence, has received the complete impression of the obverse die,—more so than either No. 6 or the coin published by Mr. Dikaïos. This fact now enables us to ascertain definitely that the obverse type does not represent Heracles,<sup>15</sup> as was hesitatingly suggested by Mr. Robinson. The full outline of the helmet's crest is quite clear. With such a coin as No. 5 before us, it is also easy to recognize certain characteristic features of the helmet, not only on No. 6 but also on the coin published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Therefore we cannot have Heracles before us, but must recognize in the helmeted head a probable representation of the giant (Geryon?)—as Mr. Robinson at first correctly surmised.

Furthermore, the slightly sharper impression of the reverse die on our coins enables us to secure another bit of information. In his description of the similar stater from the Larnaca hoard, Mr. Dikaïos says<sup>16</sup> of the reverse: "no trace of possible letter." We can now ascertain that what he doubt-

<sup>15</sup> Mr. Dikaïos, p. 174, No. 530, contents himself with merely calling the obverse type a "bearded head," while Mr. Robinson, p. 186, states: "it is tempting to . . . call the head here . . . that of the giant. Otherwise it is perhaps Herakles again, though the lion-skin head-dress might have been expected to show more clearly."

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174, No. 530.

less mistook for further portions of the lion-skin behind Heracles' back are actually the Phoenician letters מ and כ, the one above the other. The happy presence of these letters assures us that the mint of these coins must have been Citium. For מ and כ can hardly be aught else but the initials of מלך כתי, that is *Melek Kition*, King of Citium. This now enables us to assign the entire group,<sup>17</sup> of which Nos. 5 and 6 are obviously the final issue, to that important mint, an attribution that the characteristic Heracles types of their reverses would presuppose. Thus is bridged that evident stylistic gap existing between the earliest (one-sided) issues<sup>18</sup> of this important city and the later prolific coinages bearing the name of Baalmelek I.<sup>19</sup> The striding Heracles on the reverse of our coins is the direct prototype of the similar figure which constitutes the obverse type of the vast majority of the coins struck at Citium from Baalmelek I (479–449 B.C.) to Pumiathon (361–312 B.C.). The attribution also modifies the curious anomaly that otherwise a large hoard found in Larnaca, the ancient Citium itself, contained but three specimens of that flourishing city's coinages.

<sup>17</sup> Mr. Dikaios' Nos. 526–530.

<sup>18</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat., *Cyprus*, Pl. II, 7 and Dikaios, Nos. 1–3, Pl. XIII, 1.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. II, 8–12.

## DEMONICUS

388-7 B. C.

The interesting story of Demonicus, so far as it can be pieced together from our scanty materials, has been most interestingly worked out by Ernest Babelon<sup>20</sup> and accepted by Sir George Hill.<sup>21</sup> Son of an eminent Athenian *emigrè*, Demonicus for a short period, and under circumstances we can only guess at, made himself king of Citium. Doubtless this could only have taken place during the years 388-387 B.C. when the Athenian general Chabrias controlled the affairs of Cyprus. In the long series of typically oriental coinages of the Phoenician kings of Citium, the very rare issues of Demonicus distinguish themselves by their fine, free Attic style and the Athenian influence which dictated the character and choice of their obverse types. The scarcity and interest of his coins in general will be sufficient apology for describing the following two specimens, the second of which appears to present an as yet unpublished variety and denomination.

7 A t h e n a, w e a r i n g  
crested Attic helmet,  
standing to front, head l.;  
r. resting on spear, l.  
holding shield, in circle  
of dots.

Heracles, wearing lion's  
skin fastened around neck  
and hanging down be-  
hind, advancing to r.,  
wielding club in r. and  
holding bow in out-

<sup>20</sup> *Mélanges Numismatiques*, II, pp. 71 f.; *Perses Achéménides*, pp. cxxxi f.; *Traité*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II, pp. 747 f.

<sup>21</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat., *Cyprus*, pp. xxxvii f.; *Historical Greek Coins*, p. 68.

stretched l. In front, *ankh*; the whole contained in an incuse square. Diobol. Gr. 1.57.

Plate II.

8 Athena, wearing crested Attic helmet, standing to front, head r.; r. arm bent, hand resting on hip; with l. holding spear horizontally over l. shoulder, in circle of dots.

Heracles, bearded and nude, walking to r.; holding club in lowered r. and bow in his outstretched l.; over l. forearm hangs the lion's skin. The whole contained in an incuse square.

Obol. Gr. 0.79.

Plate II.

The first of these pieces is similar to ones already described by both Babelon and Hill. The second piece, however, is entirely new for the issues of Demonicus, both as to its denomination and the details of its types. That it certainly belongs to those issues is proved by its style and fabric, by its choice of types (standing Athena on the obverse, Heracles on the reverse), and by the close stylistic affinities between all these figures on the coins of Demonicus, however much their individual poses may differ. Incidentally, the obol reached the author in a lot composed of Cypriote coins exclusively.

As is the case with the now famous and practically contemporaneous stater of Timocharis of Paphos,<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat., *Cyprus*, pp. lxxiv-lxxvi, 43, No. 45, Pl. VIII, 7; Babelon, *Traité*, Vol. II, pp. 793-798.



## 20 MISCELLANEA NUMISMATICA:

we may perhaps have before us, in these two divergent but statuesque Athena types, representations of well known statues of the goddess in distant Athens.

### GOLGI (?)

9 Struck from an extremely worn die which once probably bore the representation of a lion's head to r.

✠ ✱ in front of a bull's head and neck to r.; the whole in a dotted frame in an incuse square.  
Stater. Gr. 11.00.

Plate II.

Within two years of the discovery of the Larnaca treasure two Cypriote staters reached the author from Damascus. They also bear every evidence of having once formed part of that great hoard. The one is a stater of Idalium similar to Brit. Mus. Catalogue, *Cyprus*, Pl. V, 6-8: the other is the coin described above. This particular variety is not listed by Mr. Dikaïos as among the specimens known to have been in the hoard, but he does publish somewhat similar types<sup>23</sup> obviously struck in the same mint. Nor is our coin a new variety, for almost exactly similar pieces have been described by Babelon<sup>24</sup> and Sir George Hill.<sup>25</sup> Babelon here

<sup>23</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th. Ser., Vol. XV, 1935, p. 174, Nos. 533-546, Pl. XVI, 1-5.

<sup>24</sup> *Traité*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II, p. 814, No. 1348, Pl. CXXXVI, 6. Cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 615, No. 968, Pl. XXVII, 15 (from the same obverse die as No. 9?).

<sup>25</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat., *Cyprus*, p. 69, No. 4, Pl. XIII, 8.

combats Hill's reading of the inscription as  $B\alpha F\alpha$ , and proposes, instead,  $B\alpha E$ . This emendation is made certain by the present example whose second sign is a quite orthodox Cypriote E. Unfortunately the attribution to Golgi, proposed by Six,<sup>28</sup> is as uncertain as Babelon's assignment to a supposed King Eunostos I (?) of Soli.

## KINGS OF SYRIA


### TRYPHON



#### AN EMERGENCY ISSUE

Early in 1931, there were received from Damascus two of the coins described below, followed a little later by the third. They obviously had come from a single find, as their surfaces were absolutely uniform in appearance: with a thin purplish-black corrosion accompanied by patches of *verdigris*. What else the hoard may once have contained, and when or where it had been found, could not be ascertained in spite of a considerable amount of correspondence. Certainly, it had come to light somewhere in northern Syria, but closer than that it was impossible to get. As it seems useless to delay any longer, the three coins are here described in the hope that perhaps some collector or museum official may have additional information at his disposal.

<sup>28</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Ser., Vol. XVII, 1897, pp. 206 f.

## HERACLEA IN IONIA

10 Head of Athena to r., wearing an ear-drop and an elaborately decorated and crested Attic helmet. In the field is the following counterstamp: 

HPAKAEOTON above club to r., beneath which are the two monograms  and  flanking a winged figure of Nike advancing to l., holding a wreath in her outstretched r. The whole is surrounded by an oak wreath.

Tetradrachm. Gr. 14.35.

Plate II.

11 Similar head to r. In field the same counterstamp.



Similar to the preceding, except that the two monograms are  and . Slightly double-struck. Tetradrachm. Gr. 15.23.

Plate II.

## LEBEDUS IN IONIA

12 Head of Athena to r. with corkscrew curls, wearing laureate, crested Attic helmet. In the field is the same counterstamp as on the preceding pieces.

ΛΕΒΕΔΙΩΝ above an owl facing and standing upon a club, flanked by two crossed cornucopiae bound with taenias. Below, ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΣ. The whole is surrounded by a laurel wreath.

Tetradrachm. Gr. 13.70.

Plate II.

The types of these autonomous tetradrachms of Heraclea and Lebedus have long been known. The monograms on the former, as well as the magis-

trate's name 'Απολόδοτος on the latter, are all familiar. The really novel feature presented by the coins before us, lies in the curious counterstamp which each of them bears on its obverse. These counterstamps were apparently produced by two different punches—one being used for Nos. 10 and 11, another for No. 12. In detail of design, however, they are identical. In a shallow oval incuse is depicted a tall, pointed Macedonian helmet to l., with spike at the top and wide brims below, from which depend two cheek-pieces. The helmet is further adorned, in front, with a tall, curved ibex horn, while beneath the brim may be discerned two fluttering diadem-ends. Above, on the right, is a large letter, *beta*. In all Greek numismatics there exists only one helmet which exactly corresponds to this, the well-known helmet with which the Syrian usurper Tryphon adorned the reverses of his silver and bronze coins struck at Antioch.<sup>27</sup> That in the present case the helmet is meant to be a royal one, is evidenced by the dependent diadem ends, and is further suggested by the accompanying *beta*, surely the initial letter of the royal title, βασιλεύς.

The counterstamp was probably impressed upon these coins after Tryphon had finally done away with the little Antiochus (whose regent he had been) and proclaimed himself king in his stead.<sup>28</sup> It

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Newell, *The Seleucid Coinage of Antioch*, in *The American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. LI, 1917, pp. 67–73, Pl. IX, Nos. 259–262.

<sup>28</sup> E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, Vol. II, pp. 230–1; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, Vol. I, p. 367.

doubtless dates from the very commencement of his reign, before there was time to cut dies and strike his own tetradrachms. But money was an instant necessity in order to establish his bold and open bid for power, and to bind the soldiery<sup>29</sup> and influential people at once to his cause. Whatever foreign coin chanced to lie in the royal treasury was thus stamped with the minimum of delay, to accompany the proclamation of his usurpation. Probably even earlier royal Seleucid money was also counter-stamped, for Tryphon was envisaging a new dynasty; but, if so, none has as yet been recorded.

So far as the writer is aware, only one other specimen of this "emergency" issue of Tryphon's is to be found in numismatic literature. Sir George Macdonald has published a tetradrachm of Heraclea, exactly like our No. 11, in his Catalogue of the Hunterian Collection in Glasgow, Vol. II, p. 345, No. 1, Pl. LI, 2. But the counterstamp on this particular specimen is contained in a square frame. Macdonald described the object as a Macedonian helmet adorned with feathers. The fact that the letter *beta* was illegible and the characteristic ibex horn was mistaken for a feather, prevented his recognizing the obvious connection between this object and the special insignia adopted by the usurper Tryphon.

<sup>29</sup> As expressly stated by Josephus, XIII, 7, 1.

## ARMENIA

## ARSAMES II or III (?)

## SECOND CENTURY B. C.(?)

13 Youthful, draped male bust to r. wearing diademed bonnet adorned with an embroidered design: ✕. Fillet border.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ on l.  
Bearded figure of Heracles, nude, standing facing, r. hand outstretched, l. holding club upright.  
Bronze. Gr. 4.93.

Plate II.

At least two coins of a King Arsames have long been known.<sup>30</sup> The obverse of our piece resembles the known coins in all essential details; the reverse, on the other hand, presents a new type, that of a standing Heracles. Although rarely appearing on Armenian coins,<sup>31</sup> the hero must have played a prominent rôle in Armenian folklore, according to the fabulous stories which once passed for serious history in the pages of Moses of Chorene and Pseudo-Agathangelos.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> For a description, with references to earlier literature, cf. E. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie, etc.*, p. cxci, p. 211, Pl. XXIX, 2.

<sup>31</sup> The writer knows only of the present instance and of a bronze coin issued by Tigranes the Great.

<sup>32</sup> It is also to be remembered that Antiochus I of Commagene, proud of his Perso-Armenian ancestry and traditions, erected on Nimrud-Dagh a monument of which the principal feature consisted of gigantic statues dedicated to himself, to Zeus-Oromasdes, to Mithra-Apollo-Helios, to the Tyche of Commagene, and to Artagnes-Heracles-Ares. Accompanying them were also five great bas-reliefs honoring the same five deities. Both statues and bas-reliefs depict Heracles holding his club upright with his l. hand,

Babelon agrees with Langlois<sup>33</sup> and Pellerin<sup>34</sup> in assigning the known coins to the Arsames who, as Arsabes, is mentioned by Polyaeus<sup>35</sup> as having been a friend of Antiochus Hierax, and dates these coins to *circa* 230 B.C. In the eastern part of the Taurus range, on the topmost pinnacle of Nimrud-Dagh, Antiochus I of Commagene erected a magnificent monument<sup>36</sup> in honor of himself, his ancestors and the gods whom he especially revered. Among the bas-reliefs of the East Terrace, which comprise the images of his Persian and Armenian ancestors, the tenth panel was dedicated to a "King Arsames, son of King Samos," as read by Puchstein.<sup>37</sup> But the damaged inscription gives only ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ-ΡΣΑ (?)——TON EK B———ΣΑΜΟΥ, and Puchstein, himself, suggests<sup>38</sup> that the father's name could almost equally well be read Arsames, instead of Samos. Théodore Reinach<sup>39</sup> and Dittenberger<sup>40</sup> adopt the second reading, which gives us two Armenian kings, father and son, both bearing the name Arsames. Puchstein equates his Arsames,

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very much as he does on the coin described here. On the Armenian *Vahagn*, or Heracles, cf. P. de Lagarde in *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1886, p. 148 ff.

<sup>33</sup> *Numismatique de l'Arménie*, p. 12.

<sup>34</sup> *Lettres, etc.*, p. 80.

<sup>35</sup> Polyaeus IV, 17.

<sup>36</sup> Humann und Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, pp. 232–353.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285. Cf., also, Pauly-Wissowa, Supplementband IV, pp. 980–983.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 286.

<sup>39</sup> *L'histoire par les monnaies*, p. 239, note 3.

<sup>40</sup> O.G.I. 394.

son of Samos, with the Arsabes of Polyaeus and friend of Antiochus Hierax (247–227 B.C., mistakenly given by Puchstein as 247–222 B.C.), and supports his belief by the following calculations. The fifth panel of the ancestor series on the East Terrace of Nimrud-Dagh bears the name of Aroandes, son of Artasura, who married Rhodogune, daughter of the Achaemenid king Artaxerxes Mnemon. Now this Aroandes is better known to us from Xenophon and other Greek writers as the Orontes, satrap of Armenia and the son-in-law of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who played a leading part in Persian history in the early fourth century, B.C. As Arsamēs occupies the tenth panel, Puchstein assumes that he must represent the fifth generation from Orontes and so, allowing the usual thirty years to each generation, supposes his *floreat* to have been early in the last half of the third century B.C.

So far, everything, the coins, the historical reference in Polyaeus and the ancestor panels of Nimrud-Dagh appear to support each other very well indeed. But a closer inspection of the coins themselves arouses some doubt. Their style and fabric, especially those of our No. 13, appear a little late for the mid-third century. Especially disturbing is the fillet border which surrounds the obverses. On Seleucid coins, this ornament first appears some years after<sup>41</sup> the commencement of the reign of Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.). It is hardly likely

<sup>41</sup> Newell, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. LI, 1917, pp. 6–7.



that so striking an innovation in a coin design should have first appeared on the issues of a petty king, residing in a mountainous and out-of-the-way canton such as Armenia, only to be later copied on the coinages of the great Seleucid empire. The inverse order is practically certain to have been the true one. In that case, we should perhaps accept Reinach's theory that in the third century B.C. there had actually existed two Armenian kings by the name of Arsames, a father and a son. If the first were the Arsabes mentioned by Polyaeus, then the second, his son and successor, could well have lived in the time of Antiochus III. To this second Arsames might be assigned the coins, which must then be dated not earlier than *circa* 215 B.C. This date, on the one hand, suits better their style, fabric and the presence of the fillet border, while, on the other hand, it still leaves room for that Orontes, mentioned by Strabo,<sup>42</sup> whose lands were divided by two of Antiochus the Great's generals, Artaxias and Zariadris. This partition of the country took place before 190 B.C., for Strabo expressly states<sup>43</sup> that after the battle of Magnesia, the two sided with the Romans and were acknowledged as independent kings.

But, even so, there remains yet another disturbing factor as presented by the coins of Arsames. The form of the king's bonnet seems out of place in the third century B.C. Such bonnets were either

<sup>42</sup> XI, 14, 15.

<sup>43</sup> XI, 14, 5 and 15.

flat-topped, like those worn by Ariaramnes<sup>44</sup> and Ariarathes<sup>45</sup> of Cappadocia, by Ariarathes of Tyana and Morima,<sup>46</sup> Sari . . . (or Dsari . . .) of Morima and Anisa,<sup>46</sup> and by some earlier kings of Persis,<sup>47</sup> or pointed, as on the earliest coins of the Arsacid kings.<sup>48</sup> In striking contrast, the bonnet of Arsames is taller and more nearly square in shape.<sup>49</sup> It certainly far more nearly resembles those worn by Antiochus I of Commagene (69–34 B.C.)<sup>50</sup> and by Tigranes the Great of Armenia (97–56 B.C.) and his successors.<sup>51</sup> All of these later bonnets, including that found on No. 13, are ornamented on their sides with embroidered designs which is not the case with any of the earlier bonnets until the reign of Mithradates II of Parthia (123–94 B.C.). This distinctly suggests that the Arsames of the coins should be placed well down in the second, and not in the third century B.C. There is ample room for him among

<sup>44</sup> Regling, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Vol. XLII, 1935, Pl. I, 1a-5b.

<sup>45</sup> Newell, *Some Unpublished Coins of Eastern Dynasts*, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 30, p. 15, No. 13, Pl. II. The author, unfortunately, overlooked a similar piece which had previously been published by Dr. Joseph Scholz in *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXIII, 1901, p. 47, No. 96, Pl. VII, who also assigns it to Cappadocia, but to Ariaramnes.

<sup>46</sup> Regling, *loc. cit.*, Pl. I, 6–11.

<sup>47</sup> British Museum Catalogue, *Arabia etc.*, Pls. XXVIII–XXX.

<sup>48</sup> British Museum Catalogue, *Parthia*, Pl. I.

<sup>49</sup> Perhaps slightly less square on his horseman coins, more so on our No. 13.

<sup>50</sup> Babelon, *Rois de Syrie, etc.*, Pl. XXX, 5.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIX, Nos. 8–20.

the extremely fragmentary lists of the kings of Armenia and Sophene.<sup>52</sup>

## COMMAGENE

## ARSAMES (?)

LATE SECOND CENTURY B. C.

14 Head of king to r., wearing tall, pointed "satrapal" bonnet ending in a "button."

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ (?) in two lines above a winged thunderbolt. Below, several uncertain letters.

Bronze. Gr. 3.62. ↑↑.

Plate II.

At the outset it must be stated that the form, as here given, of this unknown prince's name is far from certain. Only the last four letters, A M O Y, are clear. Of the first letter in the name, only a right-hand, sloping stroke ( \ ) still exists on the coin. The second letter appears to be an upright stroke enlarged at the top, something like †, which could have been intended for a *rho*. The third letter, damaged by corrosion, is very doubtful, but what remains seems to have a form something like ⚡. To read this as a possible *sigma* is not far from a counsel of despair. From the letters which we have

<sup>52</sup> The immediate successors of the Artaxias mentioned above were Abdissares and Xerxes (*circa* 170 B.C.). Between them and Tigranes the Great, the names of Armenian kings can only be guessed. The successors of Zariadris are unknown, until we reach the Artanes of Sophene who is stated by Strabo, XI, 14, 15, to have been deposed by Tigranes the Great.

before us, some such name as APΣAMOY appears to be the most acceptable reading. The royal title, with its reversed *sigmas*, is quite clear. Below the thunderbolt there exist vague traces of further letters, which probably once gave the prince's epithets but which are now, unfortunately, quite illegible.

Assuming that the name was once really Arsames, we are unable to connect this coin with any one of the three possible Arsames' mentioned in the preceding section. The style and fabric of No. 14 point to a comparatively late date, certainly not before the second century B.C. Neither they, nor the types, in the slightest degree resemble the known coins of the Armenian Arsames. On the other hand, the portrait head with its curiously tall, pointed bonnet, does remind one of the bronze coins<sup>53</sup> of Samos,<sup>54</sup> king of Commagene, and also of certain issues struck by his son, Mithradates Callinicus.<sup>55</sup> A very similar head-dress is to be found on a rock sculpture at Gerger in Commagene, where the figure according to the accompanying inscription represents a portrait of Samos.<sup>56</sup> It is likewise found on some of the ancestor portraits of Nimrud-Dagh,<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> E. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. ccviii, fig. 45; Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf antiken Münzen hellenischer und hellenisierter Völker*, Pl. VI, 9; Glasgow, Hunter Coll., Vol. III, Pl. LXX, 20.

<sup>54</sup> As shown by Théodore Reinach, *L'histoire par les monnaies*, p. 243, the nominative form of the name must be Samos, not Sames as given by earlier writers.

<sup>55</sup> Imhoof-Blumer, *loc. cit.*, Pl. VI, 10.

<sup>56</sup> Humann und Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, pp. 355-357, Fig. 50.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXV, 2 and 4.

and so is, apparently, the characteristic "tiara" worn by Commagenian kings before Antiochus I.<sup>58</sup> There thus seems little doubt but that we have before us a coin of one of these kings.

According to extant inscriptions and to coins, the line of the Commagenian kings, from Samos down, is now known.<sup>59</sup> Our coin must then belong to a predecessor of Samos, and the writer would suggest his father as the most likely. Although one of the Gerger inscriptions<sup>60</sup> does give his name, it is unfortunately so damaged by time and plant growths that it is almost illegible. Its publisher, Puchstein, practically admits this.<sup>61</sup> He tentatively suggests the reading *Μιθραδάτου*, but the letters as found in his transcript made on the spot hardly bear him out. Reinach<sup>62</sup> offers a more plausible suggestion in reading the name *Πτολεμαίου*, and equating him with that Ptolemy who is mentioned in a fragment of Diodorus<sup>63</sup> as having been *epistates* of Commagene under the Seleucid kings and who later revolted. Both readings appear hazardous, according to Puchstein's own transcript.

Unfortunately the letters of the inscription in question are not arranged *stoichedon*, and the lines contain a varying number of letters. Of the eight lines which comprise the inscription, the reading of

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 356.

<sup>59</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, Supplementband IV, pp. 984-986.

<sup>60</sup> Humann und Puchstein, *loc. cit.* p. 356.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 356-357.

<sup>62</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 241-2.

<sup>63</sup> XXXI, 192, Dindorf.

the first six is practically certain as they follow a given formula reproduced scores of times on the inscriptions of Nimrud-Dagh. We thus find that the first six lines of our inscription contain 32, 30, 31, 29, 27, and 30 letters, respectively. The seventh line is badly damaged at the beginning but preserves, sufficiently well, the known epithets of king Samos. The line can thus be restored almost certainly as Βασιλέα Σάμον Θεοσεβῆ δίκαιον τὸν ἐκ, which gives us the title, the name and the epithets of King Samos in 31 letters. The eighth and last line is the most damaged of all. Both Puchstein's and Reinach's readings give us a line of 33 letters,<sup>64</sup> which is longer than any other single line in the inscription. By substituting Ἀρσάμου for the Μιθραδάτου of Puchstein and the Πτολεμαίου of Reinach, we would secure a line of 30 letters, which seems slightly more in keeping with the remainder of the inscription. In any case, Ἀρσάμου would fit the given traces of the original letters about as well (or as poorly), as the readings proposed by Puchstein and Reinach, respectively.

If the discovery of a new inscription, or a careful revision, undertaken on the spot, of the old should invalidate the present writer's proposed emendation, then Arsames will have to be considered as perhaps the grandfather, rather than the father, of

<sup>64</sup> For the Βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάππον of Puchstein, Reinach would substitute Βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάππον, and this reading is accepted by Dittenberger.

Samos.<sup>65</sup> In any case, it is not surprising to find the name Arsames re-appearing in the line of the kings of Commagene, who traced their ancestry directly back to the third century kings of Armenia, among whom an inscription proves there had existed at least one, and possibly two, rulers bearing this very name. That an Arsames once ruled in Commagene may be surmised from the name Arsameia, borne by the ancient town in Commagene which is now known as Gerger.<sup>66</sup> This Arsameia had obviously been the capital and burial place of the Commagenian kings before Antiochus I, who is responsible for the long inscriptions which give us what little information we possess concerning the city. It was thus most intimately connected with the kings of Commagene in particular, and not demonstrably so with any earlier Arsames as king of Armenia.

The style and fabric of our coin point definitely to the last half of the second century B.C. Its type of the winged thunderbolt could have been copied from similar Seleucid coins of Alexander I Bala

<sup>65</sup> There is abundant room for another name in the line of the Commagenian kings. The Seleucid *epistates* (and later rebel), Ptolemy, flourished about 162 B.C. (Pauly-Wissowa, *Supplementband* IV, p. 980). The next king, of whose dates there is any certainty, is known to have been ruling in 69 B.C. and he continued until after 38 B.C. Of his father, Mithradates Callinicus, all we know is that he married Laodice, daughter of Antiochus VIII Grypus, who died in 97/6 B.C. Even assuming with Pauly-Wissowa (*loc. cit.*, p. 985) that Mithradates came to the throne about 100 B.C., we would still have some sixty years in which to accommodate from two to three kings, including the Samos who certainly flourished in the last decade of the second century B.C.

<sup>66</sup> Humann und Puchstein, *loc. cit.*, pp. 354-372.

(150–145 B.C.), Antiochus VIII Grypus (125–96 B.C.), or Antiochus IX Cyzicenus (whose coins of this type are actually dated in the Seleucid years 199 and 200, or 114/3 and 113/2 B.C.).<sup>67</sup>

## PHOENICIA

## ARADUS

138–137 B. C.

15 Bust of Tyche r., wearing turreted crown and veil, in circle of dots.

ΑΡΑΔΙΩΝ. Winged Nike advancing l.; holding *aphlaston* in outstretched r., and palm over l. shoulder. In l. field, BKP above ✕ above ΠC. The whole within a laurel wreath. Tetradrachm. Gr. 14.97.

Plate II.

Coll. of Dr. G. L., Mario Ratto Sale, Paris, May 16th, 1935, No. 69, Pl. III.

The date borne by this tetradrachm appears to be unpublished. It is year 122 of the Aradian "Era of Freedom"<sup>68</sup> and corresponds to 138–137 B.C. It is unknown to both of the latest comprehensive works on the subject,<sup>69</sup> and is the earliest year we so

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XVIII, 7–8; XXV, 11; XXVI, 1.

<sup>68</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat., *Phoenicia*, pp. xiv f. and 349.

<sup>69</sup> *Loc. cit.* and Dr. Jules Rouvier's "corpus" in the *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*, Vol. III, 1900, p. 237.



far possess for this particular series of dated Aradian tetradrachms with autonomous types. We must therefore put back by one year, (i.e. from 137/6 to 138/7 B.C.) the hitherto accepted date<sup>70</sup> for the opening of this issue.

The combination of mint letters (ΠC) observable on our coin, is also new for this series and throws serious doubt on Sir George Hill's suggestion<sup>71</sup> that the first of these letters may represent alphabetic numerals indicating the month, as on contemporaneous Athenian tetradrachms. By no stretch of the imagination can we suppose Π (16) to represent even an intercalary month.

#### TYRE

16 Laureate head of Tyrian Heracles to r.

ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕ(ΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ)  
ΑΣΥΛΟΥ. Eagle stand-  
ing l. with palm-branch  
over r. shoulder. In l.  
field, ΠΠΔ above club.  
In r. field, ΚΡ above Ε Π.  
Between legs, Ξ.  
Tetradrachm. Gr. 14.12.  
Plate III.

In contrast to the previous Aradian stater (No. 15), which is the earliest known issue of its particular series, No. 16 appears to be the latest known date

<sup>70</sup> Cf. the above mentioned works, as well as Six, *Numismatique Chronicle*, New Ser., Vol. XVII, 1877, p. 188; Head's *Historia Numorum*, 2nd ed., 1911, pp. 789-790.

<sup>71</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat., *Phoenicia*, p. xxxiii.

of the Tyrian autonomous shekels. It was struck in the hundred and eighty-fourth year of Tyrian independence, or in 58–59 A.D., a date that is given neither by Rouvier nor by Hill.<sup>72</sup> In the Paris collection, however, there exists a half-shekel or didrachm of this same year.<sup>73</sup> If this be really the final issue, we secure evidence that the autonomous coinage of Tyrian tetradrachms came to an end in 58–59 A.D.

## PALESTINE

## NEAPOLIS SAMARIAE

17 AVT KAI ANTΩNI-  
NOC CЄ. Laureate, cui-  
rassed bust of Caracalla  
to r., seen from the back.  
Circle of dots.

ΔΗΜΑΡΧ (ЄЄVII)AT-  
OC T. Δ. View of the  
temple-crowned Mt. Ger-  
izim within a double  
circle, supported below  
by the outspread wings  
of an eagle. Circle of  
dots.

Tetradrachm. Gr. 13.29.  
Plate III.

So far as the writer knows, this represents a completely new variety to be added to the large number of tetradrachms which were coined through-

<sup>72</sup> *Jour. internat. d'arch. numismatique*, Vol. VI, 1903, p. 313; Brit. Mus. Cat., *Phoenicia*, p. 249. If correctly read, there exist in the British Museum two Tyrian *half-shekels* or *didrachms* bearing later dates—but there is some doubt concerning these particular dates, as note 6 on p. cxxxiv testifies.

<sup>73</sup> *Revue numismatique*, 4th. Ser., Vol. XIII, 1909, p. 167 and p. 463, note 3.

out all Syria and Mesopotamia in the reigns of Caracalla and his immediate successor, Macrinus. Fortunately, the comparative uncertainty, which usually dogs all attempts to attribute the majority of these tetradrachms to their respective mints, does not impede us in the present case. The interesting reverse type points unmistakably to Neapolis of Samaria as the mint of our coin. For here we find, carefully depicted, the well known representation of the holy mountain, Gerizim, beneath whose shadow, on or near the site of ancient Shechem, had been founded by Vespasian the "new city" of Neapolis, to become in time the modern Nablus.

The earliest numismatic representations of the mountain, we find on certain bronze coins of Antoninus Pius.<sup>74</sup> Their large scale enables us to grasp more clearly all the essential features of the design. We see the two unequal peaks of the mountain,<sup>75</sup> the taller of which is surmounted by an altar, the lower supports a temple of classic form to which a stairway, flanked by small shrines, ascends from a pillared portico which spans the mountain's base. Similar representations are found on the bronze coins of Caracalla and later emperors. Our coin is

<sup>74</sup> Hill, Brit. Mus. Catalogue, *Palestine*, Pl. V, 14-16, Pl. XXXIX, 7-8.

<sup>75</sup> It may be asked if in reality we may not have before us the picture of both Mt. Ebal and of Mt. Gerizim? The city lies on the neck between the two mountains, of which Mt. Ebal (*Jebel Eslâmiyeh*) is the higher, Mt. Gerizim (*Jebel el-Tôr*) the more sacred and the one on which was located the famous temple of Zeus Hypsistos. But see Hill, *loc. cit.*, pp. xxviii f., for reasons arguing in favor of Mt. Gerizim alone.

distinctive, however, in that Mt. Gerizim is placed within a double halo, held aloft by the outspread wings of a Roman eagle. A somewhat similar combination of mountain (but without the encircling halo) and eagle reappears on the coins of Philip Sr., and continues to the end of the imperial coinage. Eckhel<sup>76</sup> explains the eagle as being the bird of Zeus, which Sir George Hill<sup>77</sup> accepts, and points out that "In many oriental representations of Zeus we find him supported by an eagle; here he is replaced by his sacred mountain."

This interpretation is on the whole probably correct, though the *origin* of the design is susceptible of quite another explanation, thanks to our coin. We start from the fact that the characteristic types of the silver tetradrachms issued by the Romans in such enormous quantities from their provincial capital at Antioch had been based, ever since the reign of Nero, on the well known and immensely popular shekels and half-shekels coined at Tyre. These had commenced as royal Seleucid money, imitating the preceding Ptolemaic coinage, and then in 124 B.C. had become autonomous in character and continued as such down to and beyond the middle of the first century after Christ, when the Romans put an end to their issue. In place of the head of Tyrian Heracles and the Ptolemaic eagle, the Roman authorities adopted the emperor's portrait and their own varied conceptions of the

<sup>76</sup> *Doctrina Numorum Velerum*, Vol. III, p. 434.

<sup>77</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. xxix.

eagle. So closely connected in the popular mind with the old Tyrian coinage were these Roman tetradrachms that, as late as the reign of Hadrian,<sup>78</sup> they were still known as "good silver of the Tyrian mint,"<sup>79</sup> even though they were for the most part struck in Antioch.<sup>80</sup> Perhaps for the sole purpose of maintaining this Tyrian fiction, and doubtless pushed thereto by the insistent demands of the general public, the Roman mint authorities in Syria took evident pains to continue the presence of the customary eagle *somewhere* on these tetradrachms. For, apparently, the eagle was looked upon as practically an essential feature of this sort

<sup>78</sup> In 121–122 A.D., or well over sixty years after the final issue (dated ΠΠΔ = 58–59 A.D.) of a true Tyrian shekel, or tetradrachm. For a specimen of this coin, see above, No. 16.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. *A Parchment Contract of Loan from Dura-Europus on the Euphrates*, by M. I. Rostovtzeff and C. Bradford Welles, in *Yale Classical Studies*, Vol. II, 1931, p. 6, line 6. The passage is interesting proof that the inferior alloy of contemporary Parthian tetradrachms (though not the drachms) was fully appreciated along the Euphrates, and offers an illuminating instance of how a well-founded and splendid reputation may in later years still shed lustre upon a somewhat baser imitation. For these Antiochene tetradrachms are not quite so good in standard as the Tyrian shekels had been.

<sup>80</sup> Ever since the reign of Augustus, the principal mint for these Syro-Roman tetradrachms had been Antioch. In the early empire a few very rare issues were, from time to time, coined elsewhere, i.e. at Seleucia ad Orontem under Augustus and Tiberius, at Laodicea ad Mare under Augustus, Nero and Hadrian. Tyre coined very sparingly under Vespasian and Titus (cf. Wruck, *Die Syrische Provinzialprägung von Augustus bis Traian*, Nos. 83 and 100). Under Trajan, only such tetradrachms as bear the head of Tyrian Heracles for their reverse type (Wruck, *loc. cit.* Nos. 142–3, 146–8, 150–1, 156, 159, 162, 165, 168, 170, 173, 176 and 178) are likely to have been struck at Tyre.

of money, until the coinage's final discontinuance at the end of the reign of Trebonianus. Thus, in the second year of Vespasian, the portrait of his son Titus suddenly displaces the eagle on the reverse.<sup>81</sup> But even before the close of this particular issue the eagle reappears, now placed beneath the head of Vespasian.<sup>82</sup> The same phenomenon occurs later under Trajan whenever Tyrian Heracles or the Tyche of Antioch occupy the reverse side of the coins. In every such case, the eagle is still to be seen upholding the bust of Trajan on the obverse.<sup>83</sup> Again under Caracalla, whenever the eagle on the reverse happens to be replaced by an imperial portrait or some other type, the royal bird is almost certain to be found beneath the bust,<sup>84</sup> either on the obverse or on the reverse.

So when the authorities at Neapolis decided, with pardonable local pride, to place a representation of

<sup>81</sup> Wruck, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 80–81.

<sup>82</sup> Wruck, *loc. cit.*, No. 82, Pl. 4. The tetradrachms coined in Cyprus do not follow this practice, which is evidently purely Syrian in origin. Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Cyprus*, Pl. XV, Nos. 1–3, 8–9, and Wruck, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 4, 91 (certainly also a Cypriote issue).

<sup>83</sup> Like the Cypriote issues, the tetradrachm of Trajan with the Heracles bust struck in Alexandria (Wruck, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 6, 154) does not display the eagle. See below, No. 42.

<sup>84</sup> Instances may be found in Brit. Mus. Cat., *Palestine*, Pl. XLI, 5 and Imhoof-Blumer, *Revue suisse de numismatique*, Vol. VIII, p. 45, No. 8, Pl. II, 21. The only Syrian exceptions to the general rule, known to the writer, are Tyrian tetradrachms of Caracalla or of Geta with the head of Tyrian Heracles on the reverse. Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Phoenicia*, Pl. XXXVII, 4. In this case, the presence of Tyrian Heracles may have been deemed sufficient, not needing the addition of an eagle on the obverse to proclaim these as "Tyrian money."

their beloved and hallowed Mount Gerizim on the reverse of the tetradrachms ordered by Caracalla to be coined in their mint, they were constrained to incorporate the necessary eagle somewhere in their design. To them, the most logical and artistic location was beneath the reverse design. It was a happy thought to surround the mountain with a circle or halo as a suitable frame to the picture, which was further enhanced by depicting the eagle *en face*, thus supporting the entire design with his outspread wings.<sup>85</sup> The conception was evidently appreciated by later Samaritan die-cutters who adopted it (though without the halo) on the bronze issues from Philip senior to Volusian. Whatever the scene of the eagle upholding the holy mountain may have been intended to convey esoterically, the first conception of the design was predicated upon the necessity of displaying an eagle somewhere on the silver tetradrachm to proclaim it as ἀργυρίου καλοῦ Τυρίου νόμματος in the words employed by the writer of the Dura parchment.

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To the mint at Neapolis should perhaps also be assigned the following No. 18, which exhibits a more orthodox reverse type.

<sup>85</sup> A somewhat similar design is also found on a rare tetradrachm of Caracalla from the mint of Caesarea in Palestine. The coin itself is in the Paris collection, was mentioned by M. Dieudonné in the *Revue numismatique*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII, 1909, p. 477, and pictured in the *Revue numismatique*, 4th Ser. Vol. XXXII, 1929, Pl. V, 3. Here the letters S.P.Q.R. are within the "halo," supported by the eagle with outstretched wings. This type was also continued in use on later bronze coins of Caesarea.

18 AVT KAI ANTΩNI-  
NOC CB. Radiate and  
laureate, cuirassed bust  
of Caracalla to r., seen  
from the back, in circle of  
dots.

ΔΗΜΑΡΧ ΕΞΕΥΠΙΑΤ.  
ΤΟ. Δ. Eagle, head  
turned to l., holding  
wreath in beak, standing  
facing with outstretched  
wings. Between his  
claws, facing figure of  
Zeus Heliopolites with  
outstretched arms, in cir-  
cle of dots.

Tetradrachm. Gr. 13.55.  
Plate III.

19 AVT K M A ANT-  
ΩNINOC CB. Laureate,  
draped bust of Caracalla  
to r., seen from the back.

ΔΗΜΑ(PX Ε)ΕΥΠΙΑ-  
ΤΟC Δ. Eagle, head  
turned r. holding wreath  
in beak, standing facing  
with outstretched wings.  
Between his claws, facing  
figure of Zeus Heliopo-  
lites holding whip and  
corn-ear in his out-  
stretched hands. He is  
flanked by two facing  
bulls.

Tetradrachm. Gr. 12.28.  
Plate III.

It should be noted that the rather crude style of the obverse of No. 18 is very similar to that displayed by the obverse of No. 17. Of particular interest is the emperor's bust wearing scale armor, which on both coins is seen from the back. This peculiarity is found, so far as the writer is aware,



on no other Syrian issues of the tetradrachm under Caracalla, although it does occur at Edessa in Mesopotamia. Other minor details are also similarly handled on the two coins, such, for instance, as the manner of depicting the hair (especially at the nape of the neck), the ear, the form of the diadem ends, the shape of the fold of drapery appearing in the field above the right shoulder, etc. That the former mint of No. 18 may be tentatively placed in Palestine is suggested by these close analogies with No. 17, and by the fact that only at nearby Gaza<sup>86</sup> do we find a radiate bust of Caracalla<sup>87</sup> at all similar in style and character to that of No. 18.

The tiny mint-symbol beneath the eagle on No. 18 is unfortunately somewhat obscure, but appears to represent a crude, facing figure with arms outstretched. It could almost equally well be intended as some sort of plant or tree with two branching limbs! Its true nature may at least be guessed at by comparing it to the larger symbol beneath the eagle on No. 19. Here we must have a representation of Zeus Heliopolites, with the customary *calathus* on his head, the whip in his right hand, the ear of corn in his left, and flanked by his accompanying bulls. Similar coins have been published by M.

<sup>86</sup> Radiate busts of Caracalla do not seem to occur on the known tetradrachms of Caracalla issued in the coastal districts of Syria and Phoenicia. In contrast, they do occur rather frequently at mints in Commagene, Cyrrhestica and Mesopotamia and, now it seems, also in Palestine. The radiate busts on the Palestinian issues, however, are very different in style from those of the north and north-east.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Palestine*, Pl. XLI, 11.

Seyrig,<sup>88</sup> who interprets the figure somewhat differently. He recognizes a *harpa* and not the whip in the god's right hand, an uncertain object (which he calls *une sorte de broche*, i.e. a spit or spindle) in the left, and two doubtful animals flanking the central figure. He compares this figure with the Baal of Orthosia who is represented on certain late Hellenistic coins of that city.<sup>89</sup> But there he is depicted in *profile* and as holding only a *harpa* in his right hand, and in his left, the reins leading to two winged lions which appear to be drawing the car on which the god stands. A far closer analogy may be found on certain common bronze coins of Marcus Aurelius struck at Neapolis in Samaria. Here we find a representation of Zeus Heliopolites,<sup>90</sup> exactly as he occurs on our No. 19.<sup>91</sup> On coins such as the latter, the object in the god's right hand has the form *ſ*, which is more like a whip than an orthodox *harpa* (*ʔ*) as found on the coins of Orthosia. The object in his left can be readily interpreted as an ear of corn, while on the coins of Orthosia this hand holds only the reins. The animals on our coin are certainly not winged, as at Orthosia, where the god is always in profile and not facing as on the above mentioned bronze coins of Neapolis and on our No. 19. In the light of these coins, the obscure figure on No. 18 may also be interpreted as a Zeus Heliopolites. Because the god

<sup>88</sup> *Syria*, Vol. XIII, 1932, pp. 364-5.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Phoenicia*, Pl. XVI, 1.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Palestine*, pp. xxx-xxxi, Pl. VI, 1.

<sup>91</sup> See also Seyrig, *loc. cit.*, illustrations on p. 364.

appears on certain bronze issues of Neapolis, and because of definite stylistic similarities between Nos. 17 and 18, the latter piece may plausibly be assigned to Neapolis Samariae.

On the other hand, the present writer would not insist that such coins as No. 19 should also be definitely attributed to that city. The differences in style and obverse inscription between this coin and Nos. 17 and 18 make such an assignment problematical, in our present state of knowledge. But M. Seyrig's proposed attribution to Orthosia seems even more problematical. A far better suggestion, at least in the writer's opinion, would be Heliopolis, where Zeus Heliopolites was held in such particular veneration that he derived his special designation therefrom.

In his article, M. Seyrig has pointed out a most interesting distinction between the two forms of obverse inscriptions as they appear on the tetradrachms of Caracalla's fourth consulship. The one formula, AVT.K.M.A.ANTΩNINOC.CEB, he shows to have originated in Antioch and to have been adopted in general by inland cities. The other formula, AVT.KAI.ANTΩNINOC.CEB, originated in Tyre and was adopted by various coastal cities. There exist, as is usual in any such rule, certain exceptions,<sup>92</sup> but on the whole the observation seems to hold fairly well. If we assign coins like No. 19 to Heliopolis we find that this city, like

<sup>92</sup> Tripolis, for instance, follows Antioch, while Edessa employs both formulae.

other inland places, followed the Antioch formula.<sup>93</sup> Nos. 17 and 18, on the other hand, follow the Tyrian protocol, as did Gaza, but not Ascalon.<sup>94</sup>

### PHILISTO—ARABIAN SERIES

Until further hoards have been unearthed and studied, and additional scientific excavations made at the innumerable ancient sites of Palestine, little real progress can be achieved towards correctly dividing and assigning to their true mints that ever increasing conglomeration of curious coins, which have been handled in their entirety by Sir George Hill<sup>95</sup> under the comprehensive title of the Philisto-Arabian series. Meanwhile, the addition of new types, or even minor varieties, to our known material may prove of some help to future scholars wishing to bring coherence and understanding to this baffling but most interesting series.

Actually, only one considerable hoard of such pieces has been subjected to scientific scrutiny. Mr. Lambert, in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. II, 1933, pp. 1-10, has conferred a real benefit by so carefully describing

<sup>93</sup> It is a pity that M. Seyrig did not give the obverse inscriptions of the coins similar to our No. 19. On the author's specimen the name Antoninus is spelled with *iota* only, and has not the accompanying *epsilon* found in the orthodox "Antiochene" formula.

<sup>94</sup> M. Seyrig is mistaken (*loc. cit.*, p. 367) in placing Ascalon in his Tyrian column. The obverse inscription on the two known specimens reads AVT.K.M.ANTQNEINOC.

<sup>95</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat., *Palestine*, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxviii. See also Babelon, *Traité*, Vol. II, pp. 635 ff.

a large group of these coins which were secured by the Palestine Museum in the preceding years. The coins in question appear to have come upon the antiquity market from the general vicinity of Gezer, and at about the same time. They probably constituted a real hoard, but Mr. Lambert is careful to state that, instead, they may have been collected singly by the Arabs of the vicinity rifling some ancient site. But as the group forms a coherent whole and as the surface corrosion of the individual pieces seems to have been more or less the same, it is likely that they really constituted an actual hoard. Because the following Nos. 20, 25, 27, 29, 30 and 31 also came upon the European coin market at practically the same time as those in the Palestine Museum, and because they comprise similar types and are of similar outward appearance, having a very thin, dark corrosion, easily removed, it is probable that they too all originally came from the same Gezer hoard.

#### ASCALON or ASHDOD

20 Diademed (or laureate?) male head to l. with hair arranged in the "Assyrian" style, i. e. heavy beard, long moustache, and curled locks in a large bunch at the nape of the neck. In front of the profile, a series of uncertain marks which may

▼ ✱ on either side of a naked, bearded figure of *Bes* (Typhon) facing. His knees and arms are bent and each hand grasps by the hind leg a pendent lion with reverted head. The whole is surrounded by a dotted square within an incuse square.

possibly be traces of an  
inscription.

Cahn Sale No. 71, Oct.  
1931, No. 575, Pl. 18.  
Drachm. Gr. 3.26.  
Plate III.

After cleaning, it is now possible to present a more accurate description of the piece than that found in the sale catalogue where it first appeared. The inscription is certainly composed of the letters *aleph* (א) and *shin* (ש), not of *aleph nun* as reported by the cataloguer. The last two letters actually occur on some other varieties,<sup>96</sup> which have been ascribed<sup>97</sup> to Ascalon because of the final *nun*. If that be so, then our coin might be assigned to the other well-known Palestinian city אשדוד, Ashdod—though Ascalon would also always remain an equal possibility because the names of both cities begin with the same two letters, *aleph shin*.

The two animals held by *Bes* are certainly lions because of their long tails, and not antelopes as described by the cataloguer. Although of different style, the reverse type is the same as that found on the following coin.

#### BATIS (?), DYNAST IN GAZA

21 9 (ג) above lion to r.  
standing upon the back  
of a crouching ram to r.  
Circle of dots.

Feathered and naked fig-  
ure of *Bes* facing; with  
bent knees and rigidly  
outstretched arms hold-

<sup>96</sup> Babelon, *Traité*, Vol. II, p. 647, Nos. 1040, 1043.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 650.

ing two pendent lions with reverted heads, grasping the one on the l. by the hair of the rump, the one on the r. by its tail; the whole surrounded by a dotted square placed in an incuse square. This coin was sent to the writer from Damascus.

Drachm. Gr. 3.77.

Plate III.

22 𐤁 (𐤁) above Sidonian galley riding to l. upon a zig-zag line of waves. Circle of dots.

OF in front of owl standing to l., within an incuse square.

Obol. Gr. 0.66.

Plate III.

Two obols, corresponding to No. 21, were published by Mr. Lambert from the Gezer hoard in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. II, 1933, Nos. 45 and 46. Many other Philisto-Arabian coins provided with the letter *beth* (𐤁) have also been published.<sup>98</sup> A drachm whose reverse type (lion to r. upon the back of a boar) resembles the obverse type of our coin, and displays the same letter, was formerly attributed by the Duc de Luynes<sup>99</sup> to the Persian satrap Bages

<sup>98</sup> Babelon, *Traité*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II, p. 651, No. 1050; p. 655, No. 1055; p. 657, No. 1058. Lambert in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. II, 1933, Nos. 18, 38, 44-47.

<sup>99</sup> *Numismatique des Satrapies et de la Phénicie*, pp. 40-41. Cf. Babelon, *loc. cit.*, p. 655, No. 1055, Pl. CXXIV, 4.

while in Macedonia at the time of Xerxes' expedition against Greece. Babelon rightly discards such a fanciful theory and suggests,<sup>100</sup> instead, the assignment of this coin to the eunuch Batis or Betis (Babemesis, according to Josephus), to whom Hegesias gives the title βασιλεύς. This person has made himself historically famous by his courageous defiance of Alexander the Great and the terrible siege endured at Gaza, which for two months of 332 B.C. delayed the conqueror's victorious advance upon Egypt.<sup>101</sup> Our various classical sources would seem to suggest that Batis was actually lord of Gaza, rather than a mere general who threw himself into that powerful fortress in order to prevent Alexander's further progress southwards. We certainly now possess too many varieties, of somewhat dissimilar style, to allow of their being assigned to Batis during the two months' siege of Gaza. If the letter *beth* which they all bear, really represents the initial of his name, then he must have been in a position to coin money over a longer period than two short months.

The reverse type of the obol, No. 22, is the ever popular Athenian owl which so many issues of Gaza had borne from the very beginning of its coinage.<sup>102</sup> Even portions of the original Athenian inscription ΑΘΕ remain, reduced and transformed to OF, meaningless to a Greek, yet capable of being

<sup>100</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 655, Note 1.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Arrian, II, 25–28.

<sup>102</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat., *Palestine*, Pl. XIX, 1–12.



read as the Aramaic letters  $\gamma$  and  $\pi$ , the contraction of Gaza's name  $\gamma\pi$ .<sup>103</sup>

The obverse of the coin bears the war galley which had long graced the obverses of the Sidonian coinage, and from which it is certainly copied.

## SHAL

23  $\text{לכ}$  ( $\text{לש}$ ) on l. of male figure in Persian costume to r., who with outstretched arms grasps the bridle of a facing horse with head turned to r.; the whole contained in a dotted square.

$\text{לכ}$  on l., above lion, with reverted head, bounding to r. above a ram's head to r.; the whole in a dotted square contained in an incuse square.  
Obol. Gr. 0.83.

Plate III.

24  $\text{לכ}$  ( $\text{לש}$ ) on l. above lion, with facing head, couched to r. in a dotted square.

$\text{לכ}$  on r., above lion, with facing head, couched to l. in a dotted square, the whole contained in an incuse square.  
Obol. Gr. 0.61.

Plate III.

A specimen similar to No. 23, from the de Luynes collection,<sup>104</sup> is described by E. Babelon in his *Traité*,<sup>105</sup> but he there mistakes the inscription on the obverse for the raised right arm of the figure, while on the reverse he fails to notice the presence of

<sup>103</sup> Six, *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Ser., Vol. XVII, 1877, p. 231; Babelon, *loc. cit.*, p. 646.

<sup>104</sup> Jean Babelon, *Catalogue de la collection de Luynes*, Vol. III, p. 100, No. 2892, Pl. CVII.

<sup>105</sup> *Traité*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II, p. 667, No. 1080, Pl. CXXIV, 28.

another inscription. On the de Luynes specimen the reverse type is to the left, on ours to the right.

No. 24 has for type a couched lion, accompanied by the same inscription as found on No. 23. Both type and inscription are repeated on the reverse. Together with No. 32 below, these coins appear to be the only examples in all the Philisto-Arabian series which have their obverse type, as well as that of the reverse, framed by a dotted square.

### MANAPAT

25 Head of Athena to r., wearing ear-ring and crested Attic helmet adorned with olive leaves and a floreate spiral. The lozenge-shaped eye is seen from the front.

AOE on r. Owl to r., behind it, an olive sprig. Between the inscription and the owl, **מנפ**. The whole in incuse square. Cahn Sale 80, Feb. 1933, No. 398, Pl. 13. Obol. Gr. 0.75.

Plate III.

An exactly similar piece was published by Mr. Lambert from the Gezer hoard,<sup>106</sup> but he reads the Aramaic inscription as **מנרת**,<sup>107</sup> of which he naturally can make nothing. Fortunately every letter on our coin is perfectly clear and legible and gives us the form **מנפת**.<sup>108</sup> This has a distinctly

<sup>106</sup> *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. II, 1933, p. 5, No. 4, Pl. I.

<sup>107</sup> *Loc cit.*, p. 5, note 2, he very diffidently suggests the Greek name Mentor, at which he arrives only through the desperate expedient of transposing the *resh* and the *tau*.

<sup>108</sup> The **מנפ** of the cataloguer (Cahn Sale 80) is, of course, impossible.

Iranian sound<sup>109</sup> and may, at least provisionally, be rendered in some such Greek form as Manapates. He may have been some Persian governor or general stationed in Palestine about 400 B.C.—for the style of the coin is good and offers an excellent reproduction of a true Athenian obol of the last half of the fifth century B.C.

More and more are similar Athenian imitations, bearing various Aramaic or Jewish inscriptions, coming to light. The two latest are the interesting obols of Athenian types bearing the Hebrew inscriptions יהוד (Yehud)<sup>110</sup> and יחזקיה — יהוה . . . (Hezekiah),<sup>111</sup> respectively.

## PALESTINIAN IMITATIONS OF ATHENIAN COINS

### EARLY FOURTH CENTURY B. C.

26 Head of Athena to r., wearing ear-ring and crested Attic helmet adorned with floral design and olive leaves.

Owl to r. On l., olive spray. On r., traces of an Aramaic (?) inscription. In field to r. of owl, lotus bud.

From the de Jonghe Coll.  
Obol. Gr. 0.88.

Plate III.

<sup>109</sup> Not in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, but apparently composed from some such words as *mannus* (O. P., man) and *pali* (O. P., lord, master) or *peli* (O. P., mighty). Compare, for instance, such numismatically attested names as Orontopates (or Rhoontopates), and Namopat.

<sup>110</sup> W. F. Albright, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 53, Feb. 1934, pp. 20–22.

<sup>111</sup> O. R. Sellers, *The Citadel of Beth-Zur*, 1933, pp. 73f.

- 27 Youthful male head AOE. to r. of owl stand-  
to r., wearing *taenia*. ing r.; on l., olive spray.  
Cahn Sale 71, Oct. 1931,  
No. 574, Pl. 17.  
Hemi-obol. Gr. 0.32.  
Plate III.

The first of these coins has been re-struck upon a similar(?) coin, of whose reverse type the top of the owl's head, the tail feathers and the end of its wing feathers, may still be made out. Unfortunately, the greater portion of the inscription is off flan, but what remains clearly suggests that it was not once the usual AΘE, but rather some other inscription, perhaps in Aramaic characters. The coin is distinguished by a neatly made lotus bud placed in the field immediately to the r. of the owl. The style of the coin, while still excellent, has some of the hard dryness usually associated with a copy. The model must have been a late fifth century Athenian obol.

Hemi-obols, apparently similar to our No. 27, may be found in Svoronos' *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, Pl. 110, Nos. 45-47. The letters AΘE are still legible and the style of the coin cannot be much later than the very beginning of the fourth century B.C.

## UNINSCRIBED

- 28 Bearded head to r. in Bearded head of Hera-  
linear circle. cles (?) to r. surmounted  
by lion's head facing to  
l.; olive sprig in upper r.

hand corner; the whole  
in a dotted square in an  
incuse square. Test cut.  
Drachm. Gr. 3.28.

Plate III.

This drachm varies from the one described by Babelon<sup>112</sup> in minor details only. On the obverse, the hair is rendered by lines instead of dots. The head on the reverse is less well executed and appears to be bearded. The present coin is provided with only a single olive spray, instead of two.

29 Bearded, facing head  
of *Bes* (Typhon), sur-  
rounded by a dotted  
circle.

Lion's head to r. in a  
dotted square, within an  
incuse square.

Cahn Sale No. 71, Oct.  
1931, No. 578, Pl. 18.  
Obol. Gr. 0.72.

Plate III.

30 Male head to r. with  
long beard and hair  
looped at back of neck,  
wearing crested Attic hel-  
met adorned with olive  
leaves.

Two lions, each with  
raised fore-paw, seated  
*vis-à-vis* above two dol-  
phins facing each other;  
the whole in a dotted  
square within an incuse  
square.

Cahn Sale 71, Oct. 1931,  
No. 576, Pl. 18.  
Obol. Gr. 0.65.

Plate III.

<sup>112</sup> *Traité*<sup>3</sup>, Vol. II, p. 659, No. 1061, Pl. CXXIV, 10.

Both coins appear to be unpublished. The head on No. 30, although that of a bearded man, recalls the obverses of the Athenian coins so popular in these districts. The two dolphins on the reverse of No. 30 may point to one of the many coastal towns in Philistia as the probable mint. In passing, it may be remarked how very rarely objects connected with the sea are pictured on these Philisto-Arabian coins.

31 Young male head to r. within a finely dotted circle.

Kneeling goat to r., looking backwards at a bird (dove?) perched on the animal's rump; the whole in a dotted square within an incuse square. Cahn Sale 71, Oct. 1931, No. 577, Pl. 18. Obol. Gr. 0.69.

Plate III.

A similar piece from the Gezer hoard was published by Mr. Lambert,<sup>113</sup> who there suggests<sup>114</sup> its possible assignment to Ascalon because of the dove which he recognizes in the bird perched on the goat's back. The compiler of the Cahn Catalogue correctly refers to the similar drachms described by Babelon.<sup>115</sup> Our coin will be the accompanying fraction.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>113</sup> *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. II, 1933, p. 10, No. 62, Pl. II.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>115</sup> *Trailé*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II, p. 653, Nos. 1052-3, Pl. CXXIV, 1-2.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. also the similar drachm in the British Museum from the

32 Facing, horned head of the Persian lion-griffin, with wide-open jaws revealing its fangs; the whole within a square; *guilloche* border.

Winged and horned Persian lion-griffin couched to r. within a *guilloche* square in an incuse square.

From the Dr. Jules Rouvier Coll.

Drachm. Gr. 3.115.

Plate III.

These new and interesting types are among the very few varieties of the Philisto-Arabian series that suggest in the slightest degree the Persian domination over the region. They are probably, however, cases of borrowed, rather than imposed types. The flat technique and shallow incuse of our coin point to a late period, perhaps just previous to the invasion by Alexander and his armies. The *guilloche* pattern is also unusual<sup>117</sup> for this series, though it is found on one Sidonian issue<sup>118</sup> and is common to the Tyrian coins<sup>119</sup> of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

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Gezer hoard, and the remarks by Mr. Robinson, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th Ser., Vol. XVI, 1936, p. 199.

<sup>117</sup> It seems to be present only on such coins as Babelon, *Traité*, Vol. II, Pl. CXXIV, 1-2.

<sup>118</sup> Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Pl. CXIX, 1-7.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. CXXII.

## EGYPTO—ARABIAN SERIES

## LATE FOURTH CENTURY B. C.

33 Head of Athena to r., wearing ear-ring and crested Attic helmet adorned with olive leaves.

AΘE on r. Owl to r.; behind it, an olive spray and crescent moon; before it, the Egyptian hieroglyphic sign, ⚡. The whole in a shallow incuse square.

From the Earle-Fox Coll. Obol. ↑↑. Gr. 0.53.

Plate III.

34 Head of Athena to r., hair in formal curls, wearing necklace, ear-ring and crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a serpent. Circle of dots.

On r., A; on l., ♀ E. Owl to r. In front, lotus flower on stalk. The whole in a shallow incuse square.

Obol. ↑↑. Gr. 0.58.

Plate III.

A coin similar to the first of these<sup>120</sup> was published many years ago by Mr. J. Mavrogordato.<sup>121</sup> He assigned it to Egypt because of the great similarity between the symbol in the field and the well-known Egyptian hieroglyph *uah*, and dated the coin about 390–370 B.C. The thin, spread flan, prepared by clipping, the noticeably low relief and very shallow

<sup>120</sup> Several similar specimens, from a find said to have been made in Sicily, were in the Photiadès Pacha Collection, lot No. 572. One of these is Mr. Mavrogordato's specimen. Our specimen may well be one of the remaining eight examples.

<sup>121</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Ser., Vol. VIII, 1908, pp. 197–9.



incuse square of the present coin, point, in the writer's opinion, to a later period in the fourth century B.C. In style, the coin has many affinities with the imitation Athenian tetradrachms struck in Egypt at the end of the Persian domination.<sup>123</sup>

No. 34 is certainly of Alexander's period, or slightly later. The Athena head is directly copied from the gold staters which he and his immediate successors struck in such great quantities. The style of the head is still fine, while the owl is beginning to reveal signs of degeneracy, and the *theta* of the inscription is completely barbarized. The lotus plant symbol is typically Egyptian in form, and so suggests coinage in that country rather than in northern Arabia or Palestine. Interestingly enough, the dies of both coins seem to have been regularly placed.

## EGYPT

### NAUCRATIS

#### FOURTH CENTURY B. C.

35 Head of Athena to r. with flowing locks and wearing ear-ring and crested Attic helmet.	NAY on the r. Owl facing to r. Behind, olive sprig. Obol. Gr. 0.64.
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Plate IV.

This interesting little coin was formerly in the collection of W. Gedney Beatty, from whom the writer obtained it by exchange in 1927. According

<sup>123</sup> See below, Nos. 36-38.


to the ticket accompanying the coin, Mr. Beatty had purchased it in 1905 from Prof. G. N. Olcott of Columbia who, in turn, stated that he had acquired it about the year 1902 from a missionary returning to this country from Egypt. This provenance, and the presence of the letters  $\text{NA}\Upsilon$  which replace the  $\text{A}\Theta\text{E}$  of the original Athenian prototype, indicate that the present obol was actually coined in the city of Naucratis in the Egyptian Delta. It belongs to the same general category as the numerous imitations of Athenian coins reaching us from Egypt and Palestine, some of which bear symbols or the names of local mints or officials (usually expressed in Aramaic letters or even Egyptian hieroglyphs) in place of, or alongside, the original  $\text{A}\Theta\text{E}$ . The style of our coin, the modelling of the features, and the eye seen in profile indicate that it was copied from an Athenian coin of the first half of the fourth century B.C. It was probably intended to circulate among the Greek merchants and expatriates residing in the famous trading emporium which Egyptian Pharaohs had permitted the Greeks to found at Naucratis. In the excavations of that site many genuine Athenian coins have been unearthed, showing what popularity that type of money had long enjoyed there.


In point of time, our obol may have preceded the well known copper pieces (a specimen of which, in the author's collection, is reproduced on Plate IV, B) which beneath the female head of the reverse also bear the letters  $\text{NA}\Upsilon$ , and which have always been

accepted<sup>123</sup> as local issues of Naucratis. It may also be contemporaneous—a point, however, on which mere style displayed by an imitation will not allow us to be dogmatic.

## SABACES

*Circa 333 B. C.*


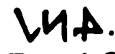
36 Head of Athena to r., wearing ear-ring and crested Attic helmet adorned with olive leaves. Punchmark: .

 on r. Owl standing to r. Behind it, olive spray and crescent; before it, crescent above thunderbolt.

Purchased at Bedrashin, Egypt.


Tetradrachm. Gr. 16.35.  
Plate IV.


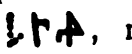
37 Similar to the preceding. No punchmark.

Similar to the preceding. The inscription on the r. reads . Behind the owl is another inscription, .

From the Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April, 1921, No. 1587, Pl. IL (sic!).

Tetradrachm. Gr. 16.95.  
Plate IV.

38 From the same obverse die as No. 37. Punchmark, .

The two inscriptions read  and , respectively.

<sup>123</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Ser., Vol. VI, 1886, pp. 10–11, Pl. I, 9; *ibid.*, 4th Ser., Vol. II, 1902, Pl. XVII, 10.

Dr. Schauffler Coll.  
Tetradrachm. Gr. 17.21.  
Plate IV.

39 Lion advancing to r.; above it, an eight-pointed star; in front, traces of letter M; the whole within a linear border.

𐤒𐤋𐤍. Archer, in Persian costume, to r., drawing his bow.

From the Collection of Llewellyn Phillips, M.D., who purchased it in Myt-Rahineh.

Bronze. Gr. 1.18.  
Plate IV.

The special category of imitated Athenian tetradrachms represented by Nos. 36–38, is well known and has frequently been described and discussed by able scholars.<sup>124</sup> Of all the many and varied readings of the Aramaic inscriptions and the proposed attributions, only those put forward by Six<sup>125</sup> appear fully to meet the requirements of style and the established find-spots of the coins themselves. Six read the principal Aramaic inscription, that to the right of the owl, as 𐤌𐤓𐤓, and attributed the coins to Sabaces, the Persian satrap of Egypt who, with his contingent of troops, joined Darius III just preceding the battle of Ipsus, only to perish there at the hands of Alexander and his invincible Macedonians.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>124</sup> For additional specimens and references to the literature on the subject, see Babelon's *Traité*, Vol. II, pp. 675–682.

<sup>125</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Ser., Vol. VIII, 1888, pp. 132 f.

<sup>126</sup> Arrian, II, 11, 8.

The difficulty lies principally in Six's admittedly hazardous reading of the badly written and frequently contradictory inscriptions, and in his bold explanation<sup>127</sup> of them as representing the name of Sabaces. It is at this, certainly the weakest point, that Babelon attacks<sup>128</sup> the attribution.

Leaving this knotty problem for the last, let us turn to the other factors in the case, which are of equal importance. Six states<sup>129</sup> that no less than four of the seven specimens which he enumerates under his No. 27 came from Egypt. This indication of the usual provenance of these coins has since been confirmed many times over. About 1907, a hoard comprising about sixty examples of these particular coins was unearthed at Samanoud<sup>130</sup> in the Delta. No. 36, above, was purchased by the writer in the winter of 1908 at Bedrashin Railway Station, where travellers descend to visit the ruins of Memphis. Either the coin had been found by one of the Arabs living on the site and brought to the stationmaster for disposal to passing tourists, or it had come from the Samanoud hoard. No. 38, above, was secured from Dr. Schauffler, who had himself acquired it from Egypt. During several of his visits to the country of the Nile, the present writer has been

<sup>127</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Ser., Vol. VIII, 1888, pp. 132-137.

<sup>128</sup> *Mélanges numismatiques*, 2nd Ser., 1893, pp. 100 f.; *Traité*, Vol. II, pp. 677 and 681.

<sup>129</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>130</sup> As reported by Mr. Mavrogordato, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Ser., Vol. VIII, 1908, p. 204 who saw five specimens and states that the remainder had been melted down.

offered other specimens, but all in such poor condition that they were not worth purchasing.

Even if we did not thus learn that such pieces almost invariably come from Egypt,<sup>131</sup> the peculiar punchmarks which the majority bear ought to have apprised us of that fact. The deeply driven ♣, ♣, †, etc., seen on nearly every specimen,<sup>132</sup> are absolutely typical of hundreds of other Athenian tetradrachms found in Egypt,<sup>133</sup> and appear to have been widely prevalent only in that country. In other words, coins such as Nos. 36 to 38 circulated principally in Egypt; and as they are seldom found elsewhere, they were probably coined there as well.

This fact appears to be proved by the following observations. In his *Traité*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II, p. 635, No. 1026, Babelon published for the first time a bronze coin, similar to our No. 39 described above, which bears the inscription סוֹיך in Aramaic characters more or less identical with those seen on the imitation Athenian tetradrachms. The writer's specimen came from Dr. Phillips' collection. It turned up in one of his boxes containing miscella-

<sup>131</sup> The only specimen recorded from a non-Egyptian source is the coin described by v. Sallet, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Vol. XV, 1887, p. 14. It is there stated to have been found at Beyrouth.

<sup>132</sup> Nos. 36 and 38 described above have such punchmarks, as do six of the specimens described by Six, *loc. cit.*, p. 133, No. 27, a, b, c, d, f and g. See also Hill, John Ward Coll., *Greek Coins and their Parent Cities*, No. 502, Pl. XII; Hirsch Sale XXIX, 1910, No. 461, Pl. VIII, and Egger Sale XLVI, 1914, No. 492, Pl. IX.

<sup>133</sup> The writer has himself purchased thirty or forty Athenian tetradrachms in Egypt so marked, and seen scores of others for sale there. These had certainly been found in Egypt.

neous material. Together with a few Ptolemaic and Alexandrian coppers, it was wrapped up in an old piece of paper marked "Myt-Rahineh." Apparently, these coins had been purchased by Dr. Phillips at, or sent to him from, Myt-Rahineh, a modern village on the site of ancient Memphis. Our coin was so heavily corroded that it was quite illegible, but a few weeks in the electrolytic bath has restored it almost to its pristine state. Another example, but very badly struck off-centre, was found by Dr. Fisher in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania's excavations at Memphis. Therefore, this particular category of bronze coins may with confidence be assigned to Egypt. Because of their obverse type, they must have been coined under Persian domination. Very probably they were actually struck at Memphis, the capital of the country then, and the letter M, seen on the obverse of the specimen published by Babelon, was perhaps intended to indicate this mint. With them must go the imitation Athenian tetradrachms bearing the same inscription.

In Paris, in the de Luynes collection, there exists a silver Phoenician trihemion<sup>134</sup> which is said to bear the same inscription **𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤍**. The types of the coin are Sidonian: obverse, galley to left; reverse, Persian king to right, slaying a lion. But Babelon<sup>135</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Babelon, *Traité*, Vol. II, p. 607, No. 978, Pl. CXXI, 22 and *Les Perses Achéménides*, p. 39, No. 275, Pl. VI, 16. Jean Babelon, *Catalogue de la Collection de Luynes*, Vol. III, p. 163, No. 3244, Pl. CXVII.

<sup>135</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 607.

correctly appreciated that it could only be an imitation of the Sidonian issues and so coined elsewhere—in other words, it is a piece similar to the obol published in the present study, No. 22, as probably having been struck in Palestine. But the inscription of de Luynes' coin associates it definitely with the imitation Athenian tetradrachms and the bronze coin, Nos. 36–39, which we have seen could only have been coined in Egypt. As genuine Sidonian coins are frequently found in Egypt,<sup>136</sup> they must also have circulated there to a considerable extent. Hence, they might very well also have been imitated there. As a Phoenician trihemibol corresponds sufficiently closely in weight with an Attic obol, it could have been struck in Egypt to circulate alongside the Athenian tetradrachms described above.

In recapitulation, then, we possess a large group of imitation Athenian tetradrachms, distinguished by a certain name written in Aramaic characters. Alongside of these, we also possess an imitation Sidonian trihemibol (Attic obol) and certain bronze coins bearing the same Aramaic inscription. Two of the three known specimens of the bronze coin were found in Egypt, and being of this humble metal were therefore almost certainly struck there.

<sup>136</sup> Noe, *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, 1937, No. 144. Some have turned up in excavations and are to be found in the museum at Alexandria. The writer has also seen or purchased several in Egypt, ostensibly from local finds. There are two specimens among the material brought back by Dr. Fisher from his excavations at Memphis, now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.



The Egyptian origin of the entire group is therefore so extremely probable that it may now be assumed as a fact. The bronze coins bear an unmistakably Persian type, which is also true of the reverse of the Sidonian imitation. It may therefore likewise be taken for granted that these coins were struck under Persian rule. The tetradrachms obviously imitate true Athenian coins of mid-fourth century type. Hence the entire group, silver as well as bronze, can only date from the final Persian dominion over Egypt, i.e. from its reconquest by Artaxerxes Ochus in 345 B.C. to its invasion by Alexander the Great in 332 B. C.

As stated above, all members of the group bear the same inscription in Aramaic characters, an inscription which can only represent some personal name. On the analogy of scores of other Persian issues in Asia Minor and Syria in the fourth century B.C., the name is almost certainly that of some Persian satrap or commander-in-chief charged with raising an army for some particular military expedition. For the period to which we have seen that coins like Nos. 36–39 must be assigned, we possess the names of but two Persian satraps—the Sabaces who in 333 B.C. raised and led the Egyptian contingent to Darius III and perished on the field of Issus; and Mazaces who succeeded Sabaces as satrap of Egypt and surrendered the country to Alexander in 332 B.C.<sup>137</sup> Again following the analogy of such Persian satraps or generalissimos

<sup>137</sup> Arrian, III, 1, 2 and 4.

as Pharnabazus, Tiribazus, Datames, Mazaeus and several others who are known to have organized large military or naval forces and, in their own names, to have coined money on an extensive scale to finance their operations, both Sabaces and Mazaces might well be expected to have coined money likewise. For Sabaces raised a considerable force with which to join Darius, while Mazaces, after the *débâcle* of Issus, rallied and reorganized the Persians and their sympathizers in Egypt sufficiently to hold down native unrest, guard the eastern frontier at Pelusium, and to fight off and destroy some eight-thousand Greek mercenaries who under ambitious leaders tried to seize the country for their own purposes.

On the bronze coins described above, the Aramaic inscription 𐤐𐤌𐤍 is written in particularly clear and carefully formed characters. The inscription on the silver "Sidonian" trihemionbol is partly off flan and so will be disregarded here. On one or two of the better style imitation Athenian tetradrachms, the inscription is also well-formed and gives us 𐤐𐤌𐤍.<sup>138</sup> Thereafter, it grows more and more slovenly until it finally degenerates into something like 𐤐𐤌𐤍. Here, we need only consider the best formed inscriptions, as representing the official model and the original intentions of the die engravers. The remainder are poor copies, gotten out in the hurry of military preparations by die-cutters not fully

<sup>138</sup> See, for instance, the fine specimens in the Late Collector Coll., Sotheby Sale, May, 1900. Pl. IX, 439 and in the Delbeke Coll., Sotheby Sale, Apr. 1907, Pl. VIII, 223.

conversant with true Aramaic forms. On well-preserved coins there can be no possible doubt about the reading of the first and third letters. These can only be *samech* (𐤌) and *iod* (𐤊), respectively. Both Six and Babelon are fully agreed on these. The final letter 𐤍, as it appears on the bronze coins, with its open, rounded curve and very long downward stroke, can most reasonably be taken as a *kaph*. On the better silver, the letter presents a somewhat less rounded form (𐤍 or 𐤍), but even there it can hardly be intended as anything else than a *kaph*.<sup>139</sup> Here, too, Babelon<sup>140</sup> agrees with Six. On the later silver, it degenerates into something like 𐤍, which Babelon reads as a *nun*.<sup>141</sup> This, however, is not supported by Cooke's table which, for this very period of the Persian domination in Egypt, gives<sup>142</sup> only forms such as 𐤍, 𐤍, 𐤍, for the *nun*. In any case, then, *nun* is to be discarded, which leaves us with a probable *kaph*. The second letter, which varies in form between 𐤌 and 𐤌, is more doubtful and could be a *waw* or even a *pe*. Babelon, however, accepts Six's reading of *waw*.

Thus, when analyzed, Babelon and Six are in fairly close accord, so far as the actual reading of the letters is concerned. Following these scholars we secure the letters CH-I-V-S, for which Six pro-

<sup>139</sup> Cf. G. A. Cooke, *A Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Pl. XIII, Memphis Inscription No. 71, ninth from the top, third form.

<sup>140</sup> *Traité*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II, pp. 635, No. 1026 and 675, No. 1087.

<sup>141</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 675, No. 1090; p. 677, Nos. 1091-2.

<sup>142</sup> *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XIII.

poses a Greek form, Σευχως. He points out that the Greeks rendered the name of Sabataka, second king of the Egyptian 26th Dynasty, as both Σευχως and Σεβχως; while his predecessor's name Sabaka, they render Σαβάκων. From there, it was but a short step for Six to attribute the coins to Σαβάκης, the penultimate Persian satrap of Egypt. As our coins are certainly of Egyptian origin, and as by their style and types they must belong to the last period of Persian rule in Egypt, i.e. to the very period in which we know a certain Sabaces was satrap of the country, the author (as a numismatist and not a professing philologist) is prone to follow Six's attribution. He is not in a position to judge rightly if סויד or ספיד presents a possible rendering of the name Sabaces, a name, be it noted, that has been transmitted to us only through western writers.<sup>143</sup> In the form in which it has come down to us, the name of Sabaces does not seem to possess a particularly Iranian sound or appearance. In this regard, it seems far more Egyptian in character—but would the Persians have dared place a person of Egyptian origin over a province that was ever ready to rebel against their hated domination?

The attribution of Nos. 36–39 to Sabaces (or

<sup>143</sup> Justi, in his *Iranisches Namenbuch*, seems somewhat nonplussed at the name. He prefers Arrian, as the most trustworthy, who gives Σαβάκης; while Curtius (III, 11, 10 and IV, 1, 28) gives Sataces and Diodorus (XVII, 34, 5) the obviously garbled Τασιάκης. In passing, it may be remarked, that however blundered the latter form may be, it *does* seem to give us the *iota* sound corresponding to the *iod* of the inscriptions.

whatever his correct Iranian name may have been) would seem to gain further support from a consideration of the following pieces.

## MAZACES

333–331 B. C.

40 Head of Athena to r., wearing ear-ring and crested Attic helmet adorned with olive leaves.

𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎧 on r. Owl to r. On l., olive spray and crescent; on r., symbol, 𐎧. The whole in shallow incuse square.

Not in author's collection. Hirsch Sale XXXIV, May 1914, No. 498, Pl. XV.

Tetradrachm. Gr. 17.08.  
Plate IV.

41 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎧 on r. Head of bearded satrap to r., wearing satrapal bonnet.<sup>144</sup>


Symbol 𐎧 above galley to r., riding over the waves represented by two zigzag lines.

Bronze. Gr. 1.41.

Plate IV.

<sup>144</sup> First published by the writer in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. XLVIII, 1914, p. 70, No. 32, Pl. IX. Not being at that time very familiar with the vagaries of Aramaic characters; being further misled by Imhoof-Blumer (*Monnaies grecques*, p. 369, No. 63 and *Choix*, Pl. V, 177) and Babelon (*Trailéz*, Vol. II, p. 679, No. 1095, Pl. CXXV, 13) who give the highly dubious reading מִזְרִי or מִזְרִי of an inscription which is partly off flan on an imitation Athenian tetradrachm bearing the same curious symbol in the field; and, finally, hoping at last to have discovered a real portrait of the famous satrap Mazaeus, the writer erroneously attributed this coin to that satrap.

There exists in various public and private collections a large and well-known group of imitation Athenian tetradrachms superficially similar to No. 40. In fabric, however, they differ radically from the piece here described, and their place of origin seems to be, almost exclusively, Babylonia. They will be discussed in more detail on pp. 82-88 below.

The specimen here described, and in striking contrast to Nos. 44-47 below, is of the same flat, spread fabric to which we have become accustomed in studying Nos. 36-38. Its style, too, is identical with the latter coins and its origin may therefore be assumed to have been Egypt. Accompanying it must go the little bronze coin No. 41 which was actually purchased in the bazaar at Cairo and probably had been found in Egypt. It bears the same curious symbol  and the same Aramaic inscription as does the tetradrachm No. 40. The inscription, fortunately, is this time written in clear, unequivocal characters which read מִזְרְךְ (CH-D-Z-M). The *mim* and the *zayin* present typical forms; the *daleth* has a short downward stroke; while the *kaph*, though as usual more or less identical with *daleth*, yet is here carefully distinguished from it by a longer downward stroke. The letters, as they stand before us, can hardly represent aught else but the Persian name Mazaces.

In the two coins, then, we have every reason to recognize a continuance of the previously described coinage of Sabaces, now struck under Mazaces who, as our classical sources inform us,<sup>145</sup> was appointed

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich*, Vol. II, pp. 245-6.

by Darius after Issus to replace as satrap of Egypt the fallen Sabaces, and, God willing, to hold the land for the Persian king. Mazaces' task was an unenviable one, being well-nigh hopeless from the very outset. Most if not all of the Persian troops in Egypt had followed Sabaces. They had doubtless perished or become scattered in the rout. Mazaces must have raised some native levies, for Arrian states that he had no Persian troops, while Diodorus, XVII, 48, 3/4, speaks only of the "inhabitants" of Memphis (ἑγχωριοί and οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως). With this unpromising material, Mazaces not only firmly upheld Persian rule in a land ripe for rebellion so soon as the dire news of Issus had become generally known, but he even successfully coped with a dangerous invasion by some eight thousand Greek mercenaries who, escaped from Issus, were led into Egypt by the ambitious *condottiere* Amyntas and some kindred souls desirous of securing a place for themselves in these troublous times. Amyntas and his followers were apparently defeated and slain before the walls of Memphis. But Alexander and nearly his entire army, fresh from the successful sieges of Tyre and Gaza, were now approaching. Against such an array, Mazaces and his feeble forces were powerless. He opened negotiations, gracefully surrendered the cities and treasures under his jurisdiction, and was kindly treated by the conqueror.

The features of Mazaces, as they appear on the little bronze coin, are handsome, genial but not

over masterful. He, like his friend Amminapes,<sup>146</sup> doubtless joined the group of noble Persians in Alexander's train, served his new master faithfully, and was later rewarded (as we have reason to believe)<sup>147</sup> with some official position in Alexander's empire. The galley on the reverse of this coin is also interesting, for it is obviously copied from well known Sidonian issues and so supports the attribution to Egypt of the trihemionbol of Sabaces mentioned above, p. 66.

These coins, Nos. 36–41 inclusive, form a coherent whole, each group supporting the other in its assignment to the land of the Nile, while the proposed explanation of their Aramaic inscriptions confirm the traditional names of the last two Persian satraps of Egypt.

## ALEXANDRIA

## TRAJAN

42 AVT KAI | NEPOVA  
TPAIAN | OV. Laureate,  
draped bust of Trajan to  
r. Circle of dots.

CEB ΓEP ΔAKI ΔHM  
ΞΞ ΥΠΙ Ε. Laureate bust  
of Tyrian Heracles (with  
the features of Trajan) to  
r., wearing the lion's skin  
knotted about his throat.  
Beneath, LIB. Circle of  
dots.

From Dr. Jules Rou-  
vier's Coll.

Tetradrachm. Gr. 13.93.  
↑↓. Plate IV.

<sup>146</sup> Arrian, III, 22, 1. See also Droysen, I<sup>2</sup>, 1, p. 347.

<sup>147</sup> See below, p. 88.



This rare coin, first described by Dr. Rouvier,<sup>148</sup> has been included by Wruck<sup>149</sup> among his Roman provincial issues of Syria. In questioning<sup>150</sup> Rouvier's reading of the inscription, Wruck is correct. The coin bears TPAIANOV (not TPAIAN) and ΔAKI (not ΔAK), just as on the similar specimen in Berlin. He is mistaken, however, in placing the coin among the Syrian issues.

Everything about this piece (fabric, lettering, die-cutting, form of the date, etc.) are typical of the great mint at Alexandria in Egypt. They certainly are not Syrian. The simple expedient of visual juxtaposition with an Alexandrian bronze coin of Trajan's twelfth year (Plate IV, C) is sufficient to establish definitely their origin in a common mint. We even become aware of the possibility that one and the same die-cutter may have prepared their obverse dies. Note, for instance, that the curiously curling diadem ends are practically identical on the two coins.

This identification of the mint at once explains certain anomalies in No. 42, which embarrassed Wruck,<sup>151</sup> because he assumed that the coin had

<sup>148</sup> *Jour. inter. d'arch. num.*, Vol. VI, 1903, p. 331, No. 2284.

<sup>149</sup> W. Wruck, *Die syrische Provinzialprägung von Augustus bis Traian*, No. 154, Pl. 6 (the only other known example, now in Berlin).

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194, footnote.

<sup>151</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 150, 153, 156, 159. Wruck does well to bring out (p. 159) the differences in portraiture so evident between our coin and the remainder of the Syrian issues. These differences are quite obvious—but also quite understandable when once we know that the coins were struck not only in different mints, but also on different continents!

been struck in Syria. The most characteristically Egyptian "hallmark" of all is the presence of the Egyptian sign "L," denoting *year*, and the use of a regnal year to date by. Neither have been found on other Syrian coins of Trajan, but they do constitute the customary practice at Alexandria since the days of the Ptolemies.<sup>152</sup> The very presence, then, of LIB on No. 42 should clearly indicate to all that the coin could not possibly be a Syrian but must be an Alexandrian issue. Probably, no one would ever have questioned its origin in the mint of Alexandria, were it not for three important and very obvious considerations: 1) The reverse type of the Heracles bust is seldom found at Alexandria but is characteristically Tyrian, dating from 124 B.C. when a well known autonomous coinage with this type was inaugurated at Tyre which lasted down into Nero's reign. 2) Later, the Heracles type appeared again under Trajan and Caracalla at Tyre. 3) The quality of the silver and the weight of the coin are far superior to those of the current Alexandrian potin tetradrachms and, in this respect, are identical with the ordinary Syrian tetradrachms.

Thus, we are left with the following contradictory facts: The portrait of Trajan, the style of the die-cutting, the fabric of the coin and kind of date it bears are typically Egyptian, while the quality of

<sup>152</sup> The practice of using the sign "L" was first introduced on his Phoenician and Cypriote issues by Ptolemy V, and was regularly continued on Alexandrian issues from the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

the silver, the weight of the coin and the reverse type it bears are typically Syro-Phoenician. The only way left for us to reconcile these contradictory facts is to admit that the coin is indeed of Egyptian origin, but that it was struck with Syrian types and on the Syrian standard.

It being established, then, that we have in No. 42 a special issue of Trajan's well known "Tyrian" tetradrachms coined in Egypt, there remains the question—why? This, unfortunately, proves difficult to answer satisfactorily, although the fact itself is certain. The date borne by the coin shows it to have been struck at some time between the 1st of Thot (August 29/30) 108 and the 1st of Thot 109 A.D.<sup>153</sup> If it had belonged to a slightly later period, we might have explained its issue in Alexandria as an attempt to supplement the activities of the mints in Antioch and Tyre preparing for the Parthian campaigns of Trajan. But in 108/9 A.D., more or less profound peace was being enjoyed throughout the Roman empire. The great Dacian wars had been successfully concluded some two years before; the Parthian war was still from four to five years away.

From Trajan's fifth Alexandrian year (101/2 A.D.), through his eleventh (107/8 A.D.) the Alexandrian mint had been steadily coining its usual *potin* tetradrachms.<sup>154</sup> Those of his twelfth year, on

<sup>153</sup> Not Dec. 10th 107 to Dec 10th 108 A.D., as stated by Wruck, who was laboring under the mistaken assumption that the coin was of Syrian origin.

<sup>154</sup> J. Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, Vol II, pp. 24–27.

the other hand, are extremely rare;<sup>155</sup> and none at all are known for the thirteenth year. The few which bear LIB may then be assigned to the very commencement of that year, after which they ceased to appear until some time in the fourteenth year (110/11 A.D.). Perhaps towards the close of the Julian year 108, or in 109 A.D., may have come the issue of No. 42. Wruck, believing it to have been coined in Syria, suggests<sup>156</sup> that its issue may have been connected with Trajan's decennial celebrations. But that suggestion will not hold for Alexandria, where the issue would have come much too late.<sup>157</sup>

Vogt,<sup>158</sup> followed very hesitatingly by Wruck,<sup>159</sup> has suggested that a visit to the east was contemplated by Trajan at about this very time, and connects therewith a certain type brought out by the Alexandrian mint in the twelfth year and the draping of Trajan's bust with the paludamentum at this same time. But the classical passages quoted to support the theory are none too definite, and the coin invoked is not certainly of the twelfth year.<sup>160</sup> In any event, what possible connection a coin

<sup>155</sup> One is described by Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini*, No. 703. Another, of a different type, is in the author's collection.

<sup>156</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 157.

<sup>157</sup> Wruck apparently also followed Strack's dating (*Untersuchungen zur Römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Teil I, p. 29) of Trajan's decennial celebrations to the year 108 A.D. Mattingly, however, has shown (*Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, Vol. III, pp. lxxvi and lxxviii) that the *vota* were far more likely to have been held in 106 or early in 107 A.D.

<sup>158</sup> *Loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 77.

<sup>159</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 156-7.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Strack, *loc. cit.*, p. 132, note 525.

like No. 42 could have with a merely contemplated visit of Trajan to the east, is not very clear. The fact of the Egyptian origin of No. 42 also does away with Wruck's theory<sup>161</sup> that it might commemorate the erection at Tyre of a statue of Heracles bearing the emperor's features, at the time a visit by Trajan was expected or when his decennial votives were being celebrated.

Strack has argued<sup>162</sup> for the inauguration by Trajan (to celebrate his Dacian triumphs) of games in honor of Heracles, his divine patron. He bases his theory on the inscription<sup>163</sup> of one T. Flavius Archibios from Alexandria, who therein lists as third among the celebrated games at which he was victor a Ἡράκλεια ἐπινίκια αὐτοκράτορος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δαχικοῦ. The place at which these games were once held is unfortunately lost, but Strack argues for Rome. He places the victory of Archibios just before or just after 106 A.D., certainly not later than 110 A.D. If the Ἡράκλεια ἐπινίκια had been established at Alexandria,<sup>164</sup> as is always a possibility because of the present damaged state of the inscription, then the exceptional issues represented by No. 42 may have taken place in connection with the previously

<sup>161</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>162</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 134 f.

<sup>163</sup> I. G. R. I, 446.

<sup>164</sup> At Alexandria, under Trajan, we find Heracles' types appearing for the first time on the money in the 10th year (106/7), and continued in the 11th (107/8) and 13th (109/10) years. Cf. Dattari, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 663, 913-7, 1136.

mentioned games. On this theory, a special issue of coins (or even of monetary prizes) may have been brought out with a type and standard most familiar to visitors from Syria and Phoenicia. This is admittedly a rather hazardous explanation for the existence of coins like No. 42, and at best is based on but flimsy and unsatisfactory evidence.

Again, it is possible that for a moment Trajan actually contemplated a reform in the Alexandrian silver coinage. The old, light-weight, heavily-alloyed potin tetradrachm was to be replaced by a heavier and purer coin closely assimilated in type, weight and alloy to the "Tyrian" money coined in Syria. A parchment document from Dura<sup>165</sup> has recently revealed to us what great popularity this "Tyrian" money enjoyed at this time, even across the border in Parthian lands. Therefore the coining of the old Alexandrian tetradrachm ceased early in the twelfth Alexandrian year, its place being taken by coins such as No. 42. The experiment seems not to have proved a success however, probably for economic reasons not unconnected with the resultant loss to the emperor's private purse, for the land of Egypt was not so much a Roman province as a personal possession of the Roman emperors and fully exploited by them.

Be that as it may, the new issue must soon have been stopped and the coins withdrawn, seeing that only two specimens have so far come down to us. The coinage of the regulation Alexandrian potin

<sup>165</sup> See above, p. 40, note 79.

tetradrachm was recommenced in the course of year 14, and continued through the remainder of the reign. No. 42, and its companion piece in Berlin, are thus interesting mementos of what may have been intended as the beginning of a "new deal" for the long exploited and underprivileged Egyptians.

## BABYLONIA

### MAZACES

In addition to the two groups of imitation Athenian tetradrachms from Egypt discussed above on pp. 62-75, there is yet another very large group of similar coins, which also bears an Aramaic inscription but which is never found in Egypt. These coins, in contrast to those from Egypt, are struck on small, thick, almost globular planchets. Their style is much more barbaric than that of the Egyptian pieces, and the individual specimens almost invariably come from Babylonia. Instead of the punchmarks which characterize the Egyptian tetradrachms, these of Babylonia never have punchmarks but are frequently gashed with a deep chisel cut. They represent the direct continuation of certain imitation Athenian tetradrachms which bear not an Aramaic inscription but the original ΑΘΕ—of which category the following piece is an example.

43 Head of Athena to r., wearing round ear-ring and a crested Attic hel-

(Α)ΘΕ on r. Owl standing to r. On l., olive spray and crescent.

met adorned with floreate  
spiral and olive leaves.  
Chisel cut.

From a Babylonian  
Hoard.  
Tetradrachm. Gr. 17.58.  
Plate V.

This coin came from a hoard found, during or shortly after the war, in Babylonia, of which several specimens were acquired by the British Museum. These latter pieces are of the following types and bear an Aramaic inscription. No. 43, on the other hand, has only the AΘE but it chances to have been struck from the same obverse die as one of the coins now in the British Museum.

Identically similar in style and fabric are the following pieces:

44 Similar head of  
Athena to r. Light chisel  
cut.

Similar to the preceding,  
but instead of AΘE on  
the r. may be seen the  
lower portions of **𐤀𐤓𐤕**.  
In r. field, **𐤁**. Deep  
chisel cut.  
From Baghdad, 1929.  
Tetradrachm. Gr. 16.88.  
Plate V.

45 Similar.  
46

Similar to the preceding,  
but the symbol has the  
form **𐤁**. Two specimens,  
one (with two deep chisel  
cuts) weighs Gr. 17.21 and  
is from the same hoard as  
No. 43; the other (one  
chisel cut), weighs Gr.



15.75 and is from Prof. Haynes' collection.

47 Similar.

Similar, but  $\Delta$  may be seen in the r. field, in addition to the  $\aleph$ .

From Prof. Haynes' collection.

Tetradrachm. Gr. 17.20.  
Plate V.


Similar specimens, but showing the inscription in full, are in the British Museum. A very similar piece was published by Imhoof-Blumer<sup>166</sup> and was again described by Six,<sup>167</sup> together with another coin, from a cast in the British Museum, which bears alongside the main inscription the two Aramaic letters, *ain* and *samech* (reversed). On both of these last two specimens the tops of the letters at the end of the inscription are off flan. Thus, it resulted that both scholars erroneously read the inscription as מזרי (Mazri) or מזדי (Mazdi), and Six attributed the coins to Mazaeus. Babelon, unfortunately, perpetuated this error in his *Traité*.<sup>168</sup>

Actually, as shown by the new specimens in the British Museum, the inscription reads מזדק (Mazdak), i.e. the same name that occurs on the Egyptian coins (Nos. 40–41), described earlier. This

<sup>166</sup> *Monnaies grecques*, p. 369, No. 63 and *Choix*, Pl. V, 177.


<sup>167</sup> Six, *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, Vol. XVII, 1877, p. 224, No. 18, and *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Ser., Vol. IV, 1884, p. 141, Nos. 1 and 2, Pl. VI, 9.

<sup>168</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 679, No. 1095.


fact, indeed, might have been suspected before, for in the field of these tetradrachms from Babylonia there appears the same curious symbol, , which so clearly characterizes the Egyptian issues of Mazaces. To Mazaces, then, must also be assigned these imitation "owls" from Irak. What exactly is the meaning or significance of the symbol is still uncertain, although Babelon saw in it the Himyarite *caph* and so suggested that the coins were struck in the Yemen. While its interpretation as a Himyarite letter is extremely doubtful, the assignment of the coins themselves to Arabia is demonstrably mistaken.

The issues of Mazaces continue with the following:



48 Similar to the preceding.

 on the r. Owl to r. Behind it, olive spray and crescent, which here takes the shape of a "satrapal bonnet," probably unintentionally so. In r. field, Pellet. From Prof. Haynes' Babylonian Hoard. Tetradrachm. Gr. 17.51. Plate V.

49 Similar to the preceding. Chisel cut.

Same inscription, and similar type. The crescent here is of normal form. In r. field, . Found at Ctesiphon. Tetradrachm. Gr. 17.16. Plate V.

# 86 MISCELLANEA NUMISMATICA:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 50 Similar.                                  | Similar. In r. field,  .<br>From Baghdad, 1929.<br>Tetradrachm. Gr. 15.83.   |
| 51 Similar. Chisel cut.                      | Similar to the preceding,<br>but without letters in the<br>field.<br>From Baghdad, 1929.<br>Tetradrachm. Gr. 16.64.<br>Plate V.   |
| 52 Similar. Deep chisel<br>53 cut on No. 52. | Similar to the preceding.<br>Deep chisel cut on No.<br>52.<br>Both coins from Bagh-<br>dad, 1929.<br>Tetradrachms. Gr. 16.90<br>and 15.92.  |
| 54 Similar to the preced-<br>ing.            | Similar, but owl faces to<br>l. Olive spray and cres-<br>cent on the r., blundered<br>inscription,  , on the<br>l. From Prof. Haynes'<br>Coll. Tetradrachm. Gr.<br>17.09. Plate V. |

Six in 1884 published<sup>169</sup> a specimen, from a cast in the British Museum, similar to No. 48, and read the inscription as מַזְדָּא (Mazdad) or מַזְדָּר (Mazdar). Babelon<sup>170</sup> later published two further examples of this variety and follows Six in his reading

<sup>169</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Ser., Vol. IV, 1884, p. 141, No. 3, Pl. VI, 10.

<sup>170</sup> *Traité*, Vol. II, p. 678, Nos. 1093-4, Pl. CXXV, 11-12.

of "Mazdad." Because of the uncertainty inherent in so many Aramaic letters, both מִזְדָּר and מִזְרָר are possible, but on the analogy of the Egyptian coins Nos. 40–41 and legible specimens of Nos. 44–47, the present writer believes the name should be read מִזְדָּר (Mazdak), and all these coins assigned to Mazaces.

Because of the Babylonian origin of every specimen in the writer's collection, as well as the hoard in the British Museum, it would seem practically certain that these coins had been struck somewhere in Babylonia. Because a coin was purchased in Baghdad it need not necessarily have been found in Irak. For a long time, coins actually unearthed in western Persia have been transported by merchants across the border in order to enjoy the more active coin market existing in Baghdad.<sup>171</sup> On the other hand, No. 49 is definitely stated to have been found in Irak, No. 48 came from a hoard found in Babylonia, while the other coins (Nos. 46, 47, 54) from Prof. Haynes' collection almost certainly came from Babylonia rather than from Persia. Assuming the coins to be really from the Babylonian district, where could they have been coined? Almost certainly not in Babylon itself, for that mint was far too actively engaged in producing masses of Alexander's own money, as well as the lion staters inaugurated there by Mazaeus, who from 331 to

<sup>171</sup> The coin formerly in Prokesch-Osten's collection and now in Berlin, is stated by Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 369 to have come from Tauris and probably to have been found in Persia.

328 B.C. was satrap of Babylonia for Alexander. The crude style and clumsy fabric of these coins seem of too poor a quality for the Babylon mint, whose issues from the very beginning were of a high order, both artistically as well as mechanically. Other possibilities are such large and actively commercial centres as Uruk-Orchoi (the modern Warka), or even Opis. Wherever they may actually have been struck,<sup>172</sup> our coins do suggest that Alexander had entrusted to Mazaces the governorship<sup>173</sup> of some important city, or district, as a reward for his ready surrender of Egypt and continued loyalty to the new régime. Mazaces there proceeded to coin Athenian "owls" for trade purposes, imitating the similar pieces he had previously issued from Memphis.

<sup>172</sup> Six, having read the inscription as מַזְדָּר (Mazdar), assigned (*loc. cit.*, p. 143) the coin bearing it to the Mazaros whom Alexander had appointed commandant of the citadel of Susa (Arrian III, 16, 9). But, as Berve (*Das Alexanderreich*, Vol. II, p. 246) points out, Mazaros, in spite of the Iranian sound to his name, was probably a noble Macedonian. In that case, he certainly would not have written his name in Aramaic characters on his coins, nor in his position as mere *phourarch* (i.e. not even governor of the city, let alone satrap of the province!) of the citadel would he have been in any position to coin money in his own name.


<sup>173</sup> As was the case with other Persians like Mazaeus, Amminapes, and many others.

## GREEK INDIA

## HERMAEUS

## KING OF KABUL

55 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗ-  
ΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ. Hel-  
meted, diademed and  
fully accoutred figure of  
Hermaeus astride pranc-  
ing horse to r.; at his back  
can be seen a spear and a  
bow in its case.


*Maharajasa tratarasa He-  
ramayasa* in Kharoshti  
letters. Radiate, bearded  
and fully draped figure  
of Zeus-Mithra seated  
facing on high-backed  
throne with foot-stool;  
he wears Mithra's "bon-  
net" and holds callipers  
(?) in outstretched r. and  
long sceptre in l. In r.  
field, .

Tetradrachm. Gr. 9.74.

Plate V.

The coins of Hermaeus, perhaps the last Greek prince to hold sway over what is now modern Afghanistan, are for the most part fairly common. There is one type, however, which is excessively rare. On the obverse, we find Hermaeus mounted on a prancing charger; on the reverse, the seated figure of Zeus-Mithra with radiate head and wearing a so-called Phrygian cap, typical of all the later representations of the god Mithra. Hitherto, this particular combination of types has been represented only by a worn but unique drachm which General Cunningham secured from the Sonipat

hoard<sup>174</sup> and which is now in the British Museum. A companion piece may perhaps be recognized in a square copper coin, also unique, from Cunningham's collection<sup>175</sup> and now, too, in the British Museum. This piece bears the horseman on the obverse, but the reverse type is off flan.


Recently, the writer has been fortunate enough to secure the tetradrachm belonging to this group. Like Cunningham's drachm it bears the monogram , which is one of those most frequently found on the issues of the Greek princes who once ruled Afghanistan. It may be seen on the coins of Heliocles, Strato I, Archebius, Peucolaus, Diomed, Philoxenus, Amyntus, Hermaeus with Calliope, and Hermaeus alone. Being larger and much better preserved than Cunningham's unique drachm, the present piece allows us the better to appreciate its excellent style and the minute details of its types. It was possibly among Hermaeus' earliest issues and was soon replaced by his far commoner coins<sup>176</sup> adorned with the royal portrait on the obverse.

The rays which surround the god's head on the reverse are particularly clear on this new tetradrachm, as is also the form of the head-dress which he wears. The type is surely intended for a repre-

<sup>174</sup> *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, p. 286 (12), No. 3. Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in The British Museum*, p. 172, No. 2.

<sup>175</sup> Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, p. 287 (13), No. 5, Pl. XIV (VII), 10.

<sup>176</sup> For a good example of this commoner type, see Plate V, D, a specimen in the writer's collection from Mr. R. B. Whitehead's collection.




sensation of the Iranian sun god Mithra<sup>177</sup> under the general guise of the Greek Zeus. The curious object held in his right hand has been noticed previously only by Mr. Whitehead<sup>178</sup> but not discussed by him. The right hand is not held outstretched, with extended forefinger and thumb pointing downwards, as suggested by the engraver of Cunningham's plates and apparently accepted as such without question by later writers, but the god's hand is closed and grasps an object shaped somewhat like . Another and even clearer representation may be seen in the coin illustrated here on Plate V, D. Without desiring to be dogmatic, the writer would call attention to a very similar object held in the outstretched hands of certain deities as depicted on some coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. So far as the writer is aware, it is only Cunningham who has ever mentioned it and attempted to give it a name. Whatever the object may be, it is important to note that it is invariably held by a sun- or moon-god, i.e. HAIOC (Plate V, E), CAAHNNH (Brit. Mus. Cat., Pl. XXVI, 1), MIPO or MIOPO (Plate V, F) and MAO (Plate V, G).<sup>179</sup> Its form on these Kushan

<sup>177</sup> A fine characterization of the same divinity may be seen in the rayed and mitred bust which constitutes the obverse type of early, square bronze coins of Hermaeus. For good specimens, see Brit. Mus. Cat., *Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, Pl. XV, 8 and *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I, Pl. IX, 679. There exist similar coins of Amyntas on which the bust is accompanied by a sceptre. See Brit. Mus. Cat., *ibid.*, Pl. XIV, 11.

<sup>178</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th Ser., Vol. III, 1923, p. 339.

<sup>179</sup> It must not be confused with the obvious *wreath* which the




coins varies from  to  to .<sup>180</sup> Cunningham, whenever he notes the object, calls it a pair of calipers and explains its significance " . . . to represent the Sun as a 'measurer of time' by *years*. The same type occurs with the moon-god *Mao*, who was also a 'measurer of time' by *months*."<sup>181</sup> This seems at least a plausible suggestion and covers such facts in the case as we now possess. If the explanation be the true one, then it is not surprising to find the object also in the hand of the deity depicted on the coins of Hermaeus. For the rays about his head are clear, and definitely proclaim him likewise a sun-god.

## AMYNTAS

## KING OF KABUL

56 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΑ-  
ΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.  
Diademed, draped bust  
to r.

*Maharajasa jayadharasa  
Amitasa* in Kharoshti  
letters. Zeus seated, fac-  
ing, on high-backed  
throne; holding armed  
figure of Athena in his  
outstretched r., and  
palm-branch and long  
sceptre in l. In l. field,  
.

Tetradrachm. Gr. 9.89.  
↑↑. Plate VI.

sun- or moon-gods also at times hold in their outstretched hands. Cf. Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushans* in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd. Ser., Vol. XII, 1892, Pl. IX, 8-10, Pl. X, 8-9.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, Pl. X, 1-2.

<sup>181</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 129.

Until the appearance of this coin, the only known obverse type for the tetradrachms of Amyntas was his helmeted bust, either draped to right or in fighting attitude to left.<sup>182</sup> We now possess a tetradrachm presenting the plain, diademed bust as on many of his known drachms. The reverse type is the enthroned Zeus, common to all the drachms of Amyntas but hitherto known for the tetradrachm only on the unique specimen first published by Mr. Whitehead. The monogram on our coin is also new for the tetradrachm, although it is of frequent occurrence on the drachms.

## NICIAS

## KING IN WESTERN GANDHARA

57 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗ-  
ΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΙΟΥ. Dia-  
demed, draped bust of  
Nicias to r.

*Maharajasa tratarasa Ni-  
kiasa* in Kharoshti let-  
ters. Helmeted and  
draped figure of Athena  
facing, striding to l.,  
with upraised r. bran-  
dishing a thunderbolt  
and holding a shield in  
her l. In l. field, ✕.

Tetradrachm. Gr. 9.43.

Plate VI.

No tetradrachms of this ephemeral ruler have hitherto been recorded. Even his extant drachms are so rare that they can be counted on the fingers

<sup>182</sup> R. B. Whitehead, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th Ser., Vol. III, 1923, pp. 331-2, Pl. XVI, 7 and 9.

of one hand. Curiously enough, the reverse type of the tetradrachm differs from that found on the known drachms. But this may be partially accounted for by the fact that, according to its monogram, it was coined in another mint. This type of the fighting Athena, in frontal aspect, occurs also on some very rare coins of Strato I, although on the latter she is standing, not striding to the left as on our coin. Her attitude also reminds one of the fighting Zeus seen on the coins of Archebius. But the monogram on our coin associates it with the issues of Antialcidas, Lysias(?), and Philoxenus, princes ruling in northwest India, and not with the coins of the Greek princes of Afghanistan.

The existence of a tetradrachm in the series of Nicias, suggests that some day may also be found tetradrachms of his immediate predecessors, Lysias and Theophilus, with whose coins his are closely associated in style and monograms.

## CHEIRES

### SATRAP IN AFGHANISTAN OR WESTERN INDIA

58 Beardless(?) male bust to l., wearing richly embroidered robe and tall head-dress.

ΧΕΙΡ (T) (Y) ΗΑΡ  
 .. V (Y) (A T P)  
 A (Y) in four lines.  
 Bronze. Gr. 2.16. ↑↓.  
 Plate VI.

This strange little coin was many years ago selected in London from among a miscellaneous lot of Parthian, Indo-Parthian, Kushan and later

oriental coins of all sorts and ages. Unfortunately, the inscription is not quite complete, as a sizeable fragment has at some time been broken out of the coin. As it stands, however, the damaged inscription is about all that we have to guide us in attributing the coin to its original issuer.

Of the first letter in the first line, only a portion seems to have been left us by the corrosion, presenting a curved stroke with a rather sharp angle. Because the two succeeding letters are vowels, this stroke ought surely to be part of some consonant. This rules out a possible *eta*. It could be a lunate *sigma* were it not for the fact that the only other *sigma* present in the inscription is definitely square in form. It could be the right-hand stroke of a curved *mu* or *nu*, but the curve appears to be considerably more acute than these letters present in the second name on our coin. By turning the coin about, backwards and forwards, in various strong lights there does seem (to the writer at least) to remain a slight indication of the lower left *hasta* of a *chi* as **Χ**. This, together with the succeeding five definitely clear letters, gives us **XEIPOY** as the genitival form of some such name as **XEIPHΣ** or **XEIPOΣ**.

The next two letters still preserved to us are an *omicron* and an *upsilon*. These might, of course, belong to the second name, but it is easier and more reasonable to assume that a *tau*, or even *upsilon iota*, are off flan and that we have before us what remains of the usual Greek **τοῦ** or **υἱοῦ** preceding the patro-

nymic. Further probability is lent to this assumption by the slightly enhanced space existing between the final *upsilon* and the following letter, thus suggesting a word separation at this particular spot. Because of the available space, the writer believes that it may be only a *tau* that is actually missing.

The first letter of the father's name presents the form  $\text{H}$ . This could well be an *eta*, although that would give a rather weird and unsatisfactory form to the name. In late times, in the Greek orient, the letter *mu* often assumes this debased shape.<sup>183</sup> On the other hand, we apparently possess a strictly orthodox *mu* in the slightly damaged letter at the beginning of the next line. Hence, the writer would prefer to recognize here the sound *h*, as Dr. Fleet has shown<sup>184</sup> to be the case with a letter of this identical shape in the name Kharahostes (in the Greek inscription) appearing on the more or less contemporary coins of that ruler. To this, there succeed the two clearly written letters *alpha* (in cursive form) and *rho*, followed by a *lacuna* of from two to three characters, itself followed by the obviously genitival ending MOY. For the father's name, then, we secure some such form as Har . . . mos or Har . . . mes. But if we should read the first letter as a *mu*, then the antepenult, being of another form, might be taken as a *nu* written backwards.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>183</sup> Frequently on Parthian coins, and notably so on the Indo-Scythic coins of Maues, Azes and their successors.

<sup>184</sup> *Jour. Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, pp. 1041-4.

<sup>185</sup> Which does happen occasionally on Parthian, Indo-Scythic, Indo-Parthian and Kushan coins.

We thus would have some such form as Mar . . . nos or Mar . . . nes. The first suggestion appears to the writer to be the more acceptable one.

The succeeding square *sigma*, the writer takes to be the first letter of the next word, of which we have, besides, only ΑΠΟ. The space at our disposal and the probable presence of some sort of title following the two names, readily allow us to complete this word as σατράπου.

Who may Cheires, son of Har . . . mes, the Satrap, have been? And where and when did he rule? No prince of this name appears to be known to history or to numismatics.

There are several factors which lead us to look eastwards for his sphere of existence. In the first place, the *milieu* in which the coin turned up suggests Persia, Afghanistan or India. Certain letters in the inscription are typical of inscriptions found on late Parthian, even more so on Indo-Scythic or Indo-Parthian issues. The lunate *epsilon* is as common in the west as it is in the east and so is of little assistance to us here. The *rho* tends distinctly to assume the square form on coins of Zeionises, satrap of Taxila. The square *omicron* appears as early as the second century B.C. on coins of Nicias and Hippostratos, is common on those of Spalyris, Spalirises, Azes and their successors, but first occurs in Parthia on the coins of Orodes II (57–38 B.C.). The first step towards a cursive *alpha* begins to appear under the Greco-Indian princes in the form Α. This becomes usual in the Indo-Scythic period, when

also the more rounded form **Δ** occurs from time to time. Both forms continue into the Kushan period, but the rounded form now largely predominates. The square *sigma* occurs as early as some of the bronze coins of Nicias, appears once or twice on those of Azes, is common on the issues of Spalyris, Spalirises, Gondophares, Sanabares, Kharahostes, Phseigacharis, Sapaleizes, Soter Megas, Kujula Kadphises and Kadaphes. But, after that, it again gives way to the lunate form. On Parthian coins, it occurs as early as Orodes II (57–38 B.C.), and afterwards becomes quite common. While the square forms of *omicron* and especially *sigma*, as well as the cursive *alpha*, do appear occasionally on coins to the west of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, they are particularly common on Parthian and Indian coins and support our assignment of No. 58 to the far east of the Greek world.

As regards the portrait head, its style is distinctly good, better, in fact, than those of Pacores, Orthagnes and Sanabares, and infinitely better than the crude heads of Gondophares and Abdagases. This may be due to a more skillful die-cutter; it may also be due to his earlier date or to the fact that he may have been more exposed to Greek influence. The embroidered upper edge of the robe is similar to that found on the bronze coins of Sanabares.<sup>186</sup> The head-dress suggests the usual Parthian one, but only in a general way, as the concave outline at the back and the flaring but somewhat flattened

<sup>186</sup> Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Greek and Scythic Kings*, Pl. XXIII, 12.

upper contour give the object on our coin a more individual character. It is not exactly like any bonnet or head-piece known to numismatics. Due to the corroded state of the coin, it is not possible to determine whether the bonnet possesses a long neck-piece, or whether this portion was intended to represent the satrap's hair. It is also to be noted that the usual flowing diadem-ends and large bow, which appear behind the head on Parthian and Kushan coins, seem to be lacking.

Thus far, everything about the coin has pointed to the east. One peculiarity, however, does not. The use of parallel lines of inscription to fill the reverse flan is not known to early Indian coins, while on Parthian coins it occurs only once—a small civic issue, probably of Ecbatana. In the west the practice is much more common, appearing on certain issues of Ma'nu of Edessa and prevalent throughout the Greco-Roman world. The preponderance of evidence, however, still seems to point to the east.

As for the date, by taking the forms of the letters and the general style and fabric into consideration, the coin may reasonably be assigned to the first century B.C., perhaps to its second half.

The curious names and especially the use of the diphthong, *æ*, remind one of such Indo-Parthian or Indo-Scythian(?) princes as Sapaleizes, Phseiga-charis and Zeionises.<sup>187</sup> The use on a coin of the title

<sup>187</sup> Kharahostes, in the Greek inscription on his coins, also twice makes use of the same diphthong. Cf. *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I, p. 159.



of "satrap" points to the period and general district where once ruled Kharahostes, Zeionises, Rajuvula and the later Kshatrapa princes. May some philologist conversant with Central Asian or Indo-Iranian names recognize and elucidate for us the appellations, XEIPOY and HAP . . . MOY!

### COIN OF APPOLLODOTUS RESTRUCK IN MOHAMMEDAN TIMES

59 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΠΟΛ-  
ΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.  
Apollo, nude, standing  
facing. In lower l. field,  
𐌌.

Across the field may be  
seen: 𐌌 of a later  
striking.

*Maharajasa tratarasa  
Apaladatasa*, on three  
sides of a dotted square,  
within which, a tripod.

Across the field may be  
seen portions of an orna-  
mental border, within  
which an ornamental de-  
sign or traces of an il-  
legible inscription.

Bronze. Gr. 9.55.

Plate VI.

The original coin is a common type of the square bronze issues of the Greco-Indian king, Apollodotus I. In comparatively recent times, to judge by the character of the Arabic inscription and the uncertain design on the reverse, the ancient coin has been re-used as a blank at the mint of some minor Mohammedan rajah or emir. The process of recoinage was not very efficiently carried out, and the ancient types and inscriptions are far more legible than those of the Mohammedan prince.

Of the latter's types, one can still read on the obverse the word *falus*, accompanied above and below by indistinct traces of further letters or numerals. On the reverse, double-striking has rendered the modern legend practically illegible except for a possible *س*. Available publications of Oriental coins, as well as the well-stocked trays of the American Numismatic Society, have been searched without finding anything which exactly corresponds to the over-strike. Perhaps the nearest is represented by some squarish or octagonal coins of one Mahmoud Khan struck at Kalat in Baluchistan. On these, the word *falus* is written in a similar fashion. Below it, stands the mint name *کلات*, of which, on our coin, the two topmost points of the *lam-alif* appear still to be distinguishable. The reverses of the Kalat coins bear the ruler's name, Mahmoud Khan. This may be represented by the *س*, although the remaining traces of letters do not seem to correspond very closely with such Kalat coins as chance to be available. This, however, may be the result of the very severe disfigurement of the inscription occasioned by the double-striking. The writer is far from being completely satisfied with the proposed identification and would welcome further suggestions.

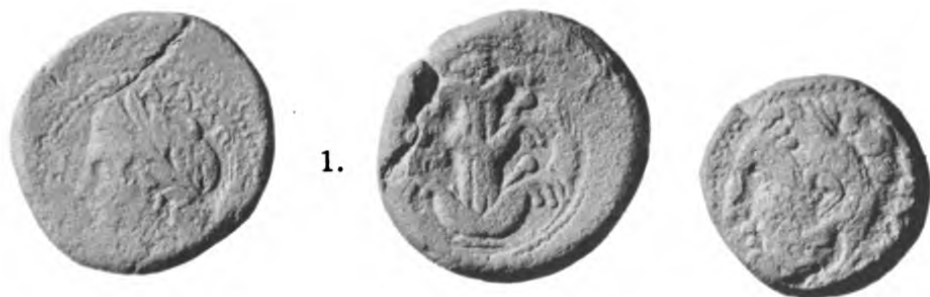


# PLATES



# PLATES









CYRENE TO INDIA.

PLATE I



1.



2.



A



3.



4.



5.



6.



# CYRENE TO INDIA.



7.



8.



9.



10.



11.



PLATE II



12.



13.



14.



15.



CYRENE TO INDIA.



7.



8.



9.



10.



11.



PLATE II



12.



13.



14.



15.



# CYRENE TO INDIA.



16.



17.



18.



19.



# PLATE III

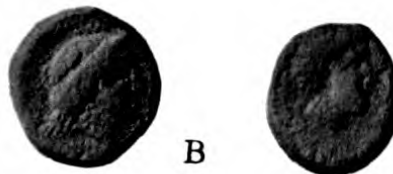




CYRENE TO INDIA.



35.



B



36.



37.



38.



39.



PLATE IV



40.



41.



42.



C

# CYRENE TO INDIA.



43.



44.



47.



48.



49.



51.



PLATE V



54.



55.



D



E



F



G

# CYRENE TO INDIA.



43.



44.



47.



48.



49.



51.



PLATE V



54.



55.



D



E



F



G



56.



57.



58.



59.



T  
5  
1

*Anal. C. L.* AUG 1 1938

NUMISMATIC NOTES  
AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 82



MISCELLANEA NUMISMATICA:  
CYRENE TO INDIA

BY  
EDWARD T. NEWELL

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET  
NEW YORK  
1938



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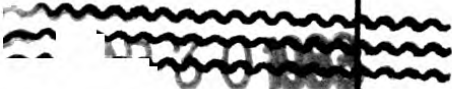




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